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S. S. B. I.

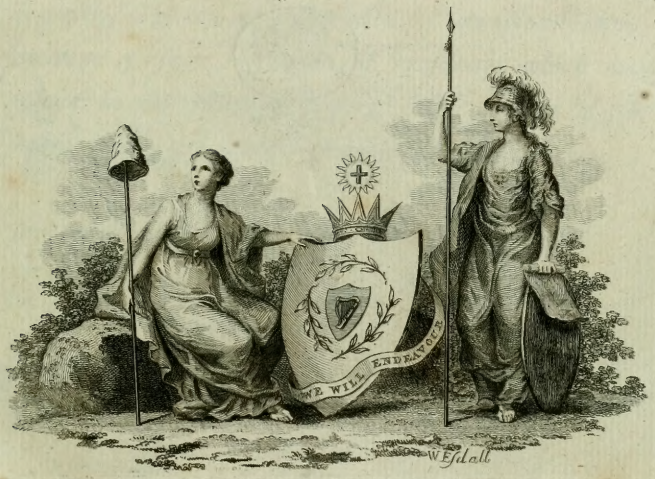
THE

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

M.DCC.LXXXVII.



DUBLIN:

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FOR THE ACADEMY.

NATURAL HISTORY

THE ACADEMY desire it to be understood that, as a body, they are not answerable for any opinion, representation of facts, or train of reasoning, which may appear in the following papers. The authors of the several essays are alone responsible for their contents.

E R R A T A.

SCIENCE.

Page 29, Line 11, for *Pythagorus*, read Pythagoras.
Page 30, Lines 3, 5, for *paraſeline*, read paraſelene.
Page 38, Line 3 from the bottom, for Υ^2, read y^2.

POLITE LITERATURE.

Page 22, Line 3, read Οὐ ἐκ θεσν.
Page 52, Line 17, for *triodi*, read triads.
Page 86, Line 21, for *cymbol*, read cymbal.

ANTIQUITIES.

Page 34, Line 5, read acerrimâ.
Page 143, Line 13, read *are* frequently.
Page 149, Line 12, for *Tuetonic*, read Teutonic.
Page 159, Line 2, for *ſome*, read ſuch.

☞ The quotation from Euripides, page 62, Polite Literature, having been overlooked in the correction, is here printed more accurately.

Οὐ παύσομαι τὰς χάριτας
Μουσαις συγκαταμιγνυς,
Ἡδίσαι συζυγίαι.
Εἰ ζυγὴν μετ' ἐυμουσίας,
Αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ξεφάνοισιν εἶπη.

* * * *

Παρά τε βρόμιον οἰνοδόσαι,
Παρά τε χίλυος ἐπλατάνυ
Μολπᾶν, ᾗ λίθυν ἀυλόν.
Οὔπω καταπαύσομεν
Μοῦσας, ἂι μ' ἐχορευσαν.

Ἀντιστροφη Ε.

Παιᾶνα μὲν Δηλιάδες
Ὑμνοῦσ' ἀμφὶ πύλας, τὸν
Λατοῦς ἰυπαίδα γόνον,
Εἰλίσσουσαι καλλίχορον.

PREFACE.

TO the ſeveral advantages which Europe has within theſe latter centuries experienced from the cultivation of ſcience and polite literature, this kingdom unfortunately has remained in a great meaſure a ſtranger. As no Iriſhman's partiality will deny this, ſo no man's prejudice ſhould be ſuffered to make it an occaſion of illiberal imputation on the capacity of Iriſhmen, while in the ſtate of the country ſo many local peculiarities may be found fully ſufficient to account for it. The important changes which took place in the government upon the invaſion by Henry the Second were not carried on with ſo little diſturbance, as to permit the nation to apply itſelf immediately to the peaceful employments of literary enquiry: nor could it reaſonably be preſumed, that two claſſes of inhabitants entirely diſſimilar in their inclinations and habits, and afterwards more widely ſeparated by a difference in religion, ſhould be readily

 prevailed

prevailed on to lay aſide their mutual enmity, and unite in the purſuit of ſpeculative ſcience. The connection of this kingdom with England, inſtead of teaching Ireland the many valuable acquiſitions of Engliſh induſtry, tended rather to entice away its men of genius to a country in which, as learning was more faſhionable, its profeſſors might be certain of enjoying more at eaſe the advantages of rational communication, and of receiving more ample encouragement. Its natural ſituation, remote from the line of immediate intercourſe between any two more civilized nations, removed it alſo from all acquaintance with foreign improvement: and its want of political importance baniſhed from it all thoſe whoſe wealth and ambition might have introduced practical ſcience, afforded a liberal patronage to ingenuity, and raiſed their country to dignity, to opulence and to reputation.

Such are the ſeveral cauſes which fatally conſpired to detain this kingdom for a ſeries of years in a ſtate of comparative ignorance and inferiority, to counteract its natural advantages, and to derogate from its national character: and to theſe it is owing, that while its ſons became illuſtrious abroad for enterprize and for ability, their country ſhould yet have remained neglected, and its inhabitants poor, inactive and unenlightened. But the influence of many of theſe cauſes time has in a conſiderable

conſiderable degree weakened, and peculiar circumſtances have now given to Ireland an importance in the political ſcale, which habits of well-directed induſtry alone can eſtabliſh and maintain. Whatever therefore tends, by the cultivation of uſeful arts and ſciences, to improve and facilitate its manufactures; whatever tends, by the elegance of polite literature, to civilize the manners and refine the taſte of its people; whatever tends to awaken a ſpirit of literary ambition, by keeping alive the memory of its antient reputation for learning, cannot but prove of the greateſt national advantage. To a wiſh to promote in theſe important reſpects the advancement of knowledge in this kingdom, the Royal Iriſh Academy for Science, Polite Literature, and Antiquities, owes its eſtabliſhment; and though the members who compoſe it are not entirely without hopes that their efforts may hereafter become perhaps extenſively uſeful and reſpected, yet the original intent of their inſtitution muſt be conſidered as confining their views for the preſent more immediately to Ireland. If their endeavours ſhall but ſerve to excite in their countrymen ſome ſenſe of the dignity of mental exertion, if their exhortation and example ſhall be ſo far ſucceſsful as to become the means of turning vacant thoughts to ſcience and to utility, their labours are abundantly recompenſed.

If it be ſaid that in ſocieties of this ſort too much attention is frequently beſtowed on ſubjects barren and

ſpeculative, it may be anſwered, that no one ſcience is ſo little connected with the reſt as not to afford many principles whoſe uſe may extend conſiderably beyond the ſcience to which they primarily belong, and that no propoſition is ſo purely theoretical as to be totally incapable of being applied to practical purpoſes. There is no apparent connection between duration and the cycloidal arch, the properties of which duly attended to have furniſhed us with our beſt regulated methods of meaſuring time: and he who has made himſelf maſter of the nature and affections of the logarithmic curve, is not aware that he has advanced conſiderably towards aſcertaining the proportionable denſity of the air at its various diſtances from the ſurface of the earth. The reſearches of the mathematician are the only ſure ground on which we can reaſon from experiments; and how far experimental ſcience may aſſiſt the commercial intereſts of a ſtate, is clearly evinced by the ſucceſs of thoſe ſeveral manufactures in the neighbouring countries of England and France, where the hand of the artificer has taken its direction from the philoſopher. Every manufacture is in reality but a chemical proceſs, and the machinery requiſite for carrying it on but the right application of certain propoſitions in rational mechanics. If chemiſtry and natural hiſtory then have never yet employed themſelves in enquiring into the ſtate of this country, if its minerals have never yet been explored, nor

nor the extent of its botanical productions aſcertained, we need not wonder that Ireland, abounding in the firſt materials of many manufactures, ſhould yet have conſidered them no otherwiſe valuable than as articles of export.

To attain purpoſes of ſo great national utility as this Academy propoſes to itſelf, the patriotiſm of the inhabitants of this kingdom has made many efforts, which though not entirely effectual have yet given a well-founded hope, that when circumſtances more favourable ſhould ariſe ſuch endeavours might be attended with ſucceſs. The foundation of our Univerſity has diffuſed the advantages of a liberal education to a number which, when the poverty and ſtate of population of this country are taken into account, appears far from inconſiderable; and ſeveral private literary ſocieties have been at different times paſt formed, tending to keep alive the claims of Ireland on their poſterity, and perhaps to facilitate the ſucceſs of future labours. In the year 1683 William Molyneaux was inſtrumental in forming a Society in Dublin ſimilar to the Royal Society in London, of which he was an illuſtrious member: much might be expected from an inſtitution of which Sir William Petty was preſident, and Molyneaux ſecretary, had not the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom diſperſed them ſo ſoon as 1688. Their plan ſeems to have been reſumed

reſumed without ſucceſs about the beginning of the preſent century, when the Earl of Pembroke, then Lord Lieutenant, preſided over a Philoſophical Society eſtabliſhed in Dublin College. In the year 1740 the Phyſico-hiſtorical Society, two volumes of whoſe minutes are ſtill extant, was inſtituted: under their patronage Smith publiſhed his Hiſtory of Waterford. And in the year 1772 the antient ſtate of Ireland attracted the attention of the Dublin Society, who appointed a committee for the expreſs purpoſe of enquiring into its antiquities. The favourable reception their propoſals of correſpondence met with abroad evinced a diſpoſition in foreign nations to aſſiſt the cultivation of this branch of literature, of which the Royal Iriſh Academy acknowledge with gratitude they have already received valuable proofs. The meetings of the Antiquarian Committee after about two years ceaſed; but the zeal of a very few of their members ſtill continuing has given to the public ſeveral eſſays, ſince comprized into four volumes entitled Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. About the year 1782 the Society from which this Academy afterwards aroſe was eſtabliſhed: it conſiſted of an indefinite number of members, moſt of them belonging to the Univerſity, who at weekly meetings read eſſays in turn. Anxious to make their labours redound to the honour and advantage of their country they

they formed a plan more extenſive, and admitting ſuch additional names only as might add dignity to their new inſtitution, or by their publications had given ſure ground to hope advantage from their labours, became the founders of the Royal Iriſh Academy.

Let it not be imputed to arrogance when we ſay that, however former Societies in this kingdom may have failed, the members of this Academy ſhould not be diſheartened. From its peculiar nature, and ſeveral favourable circumſtances attending the time of its inſtitution, it has many proſpects of continuance. Uniting in one plan the three compartments of Science, Polite Literature, and Antiquities, it unites whatever is pleaſing with whatever is uſeful, the advancement of ſpeculative knowledge with the hiſtory of mankind: it makes proviſion for the capricious variations of literary purſuit, and embracing all the objects of rational enquiry, it ſecures the co-operation of the learned of every deſcription.

It has been inſtituted too at a time when it can enjoy the protection of a monarch, whoſe patronage of the liberal arts has made his reign an illuſtrious æra in the annals of literature; at a time when two of the ſciences have had advantages hitherto unknown in this country

held

held out to them, in the eſtabliſhment of a medical ſchool, and the foundation of an obſervatory for aſtronomical purpoſes; and at a time when every qualification natural and acquired concurred in pointing out a preſident, whoſe zeal for the intereſts of Ireland could only be equalled by his zeal for the intereſts of learning.

ANIMATED by ſuch encouragements, the Iriſh nation are called on to exert themſelves. The Academy, in this volume, with moſt reſpectful deference preſents the firſt fruits of its labours to the public: whether the beginning now made ſhall be relinquiſhed with diſgrace, or this Society be taught to aſpire to hopes of vigor and continuance, is a queſtion, which thoſe who have abilities to promote the advancement of literature ſhould be informed is left, with all its important conſequences, for their exertions to determine. To embolden their diffidence, the nature of theſe publications holds out all the advantages of mutual example, while the great national benefits to be derived from this inſtitution muſt ſtamp their indolence a crime of no leſs magnitude than treaſon againſt the welfare of Ireland. They are called on by every tie which can have a laudable influence on the heart of man: by the hopes of ſucceſs, and the infamy of defeat, by the ſolicitations of a natural inſtinct which

which will not ſuffer their faculties to reſt without exertion, and by the authoritative voice of reaſon and experience which pronounce ſuch exertions ſalutary, by emulation, by philanthropy, by honeſt pride, by a glorious ſenſe of the dignity of their country, and the dignity of human nature. To ſuch a call Iriſhmen cannot be inattentive: the God of Truth will look propitious on their labours, and a Ray from Heaven ſhall light them to ſucceſs.

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Read June 13, 1785.

THE delicacy of practical Aſtronomy, in its preſent improved ſtate, has laid open to us new ſources of error, and additional difficulties, which the leſs perfect inſtruments of our predeceſſors could not have taught them to ſuſpect. One peculiar advantage of Aſtronomy, above other ſciences, was formerly thought to ariſe from the nature of its ſubject, viz. the motions of bodies ſo remote as to free the inquirer from the complicated conſideration of local effects, corpuſcular attraction, and chemical ſolution. But it is not ſo at preſent; the ſubtle element of fire, the different ſpecies of air, and their various combinations, have rendered the theory of refractions, even as coming from the hands of Bradley, ſtill liable to ſuſpicion; and whilſt we juſtly admire the induſtry of that great man in making obſervations, his ſagacity in ſelecting

them, and the elegance of his deduction, ſtill the truly phyſical inquirer muſt lament the circumſtances of the obſervations themſelves, which, it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe, could afford him indiſputable elements, when we conſider that they were made in a confined room, in which the temperature was in general widely different from that of the external air, and by the help of inſtruments cloſely attached to a maſs of ſtone of nine or ten feet ſuperficial ſquare by three or four feet in thickneſs. We have good reaſon to ſuppoſe that ſuch a bulk of cold ſtone decompoſes the ſurrounding air to ſome diſtance. In ſome particular circumſtances of the atmoſphere, the moiſture reſting on the ſurface, and in others, the tremulous motion of the adjacent air, ſeem to indicate either a decompoſition or ſurcharge in that portion of the air, by means of which the theory of refractions has hitherto been experimentally determined; and therefore leave the ſubject ſtill liable to objections apparently well founded.

The preſent Aſtronomer Royal, Doctor Nevil Maſkelyne, whoſe ſagacity leſs important matters could not eſcape, aware of this defect, has opened his Obſervatory more to the air, and, as far as the conſtruction of the building would admit, has removed part of the evil; the quadrants, however, ſtill remain attached to the great maſs of ſtone.

Ever ſince that important period, at which aſtronomy appears to have aſſumed a new face, by the introduction of metallic inſtruments of more accurate frame and diviſion, and the adoption of teleſcopic ſights, the groſſer difficulties of the ſcience have been gradually removed: ſome, which before that time were conſidered of little

little importance, and others, 'till then totally unſuſpected, are now become of ſerious conſequence, and require the moſt accurate theoretical inveſtigation, and the utmoſt refinement of practice. Amongſt theſe may be ranked the minute variations of refraction; which may, perhaps, juſtly be conſidered as the greateſt bar at preſent to the perfection of Aſtronomy.

I MUCH ſuſpect that the true conſtitution of our atmoſphere is, even now, but little known; but I am not without hopes of intereſting diſcoveries in this important branch of ſcience, from the novel means of exploring its qualities in circumſtances very different from thoſe of all former experiments. We are, however, certain that it is ſubject to decompoſition and change; and obſervation and theory prove to us that refractions are thereby affected.

IF we propoſe by obſervation to procure elements for a law of refraction, whether we adopt the conſtitution of the atmoſphere ſuppoſed by our predeceſſors or not, it is manifeſt that obſervations made in the open air promiſe the greateſt degree of conſiſtency with each other, and the beſt elements for a theory and law of refractions; but as this method, particularly in our northern climates, cannot be purſued with ſafety either to the Aſtronomer or his apparatus, we can only endeavour to approximate to this perfection, by making our buildings as open to the air as may be conſiſtent with their particular ſtructure, and the health and convenience of the obſerver. This ſubject had for a long time engaged my attention, and I had digeſted what occurred to me upon it into ſome form, when, by a happy concurrence

concurrence of circumſtances I was enabled to reduce part of my ſyſtem to practice, and to give a fair trial to what I conſidered likely, I do not ſay to remove, but at leaſt to diminiſh the evil.

Our late learned and munificent Provoſt, Doctor Francis Andrews, had bequeathed to the College a conſiderable ſum of money towards the building of an Obſervatory, and furniſhing it with proper inſtruments, which ſum was to ariſe from an accumulation of a part of his property, to commence upon a particular contingency happening in his family. As ſoon as this had taken place, the College, with a diſtinguiſhed liberality, and a true zeal for the promotion of ſcience, determined not to loſe time by waiting for the accumulation; but, to haſten the execution of the plan, advanced from their own funds a ſum conſiderably exceeding the original bequeſt; although at that time not well qualified for ſo great and ſudden a call, on account of the large ſums that had been by them already expended upon other public buildings. They did me the honor to elect me Profeſſor, and ſent me to England to order from Mr. Ramſden the beſt inſtruments, without limitation of price. His abilities are ſufficiently known to all Europe. As ſoon as the choice of the inſtruments had been determined*, the next point to be conſidered

* The inſtruments ordered were a tranſit inſtrument of four feet axis and ſix feet focal length, bearing four inches and a quarter aperture, with three different magnifying powers up to near 600, which great power it bears with a moſt ſurprizing degree of diſtinctneſs.—An intire circle of ten feet diameter, on a vertical axis, for

ſidered was the arrangement of the building, and the moſt commodious diſpoſition of the inſtruments, ſo as to give to each a ſituation juſtly ſuited to the particular obſervations to be made. Accordingly, I deviſed the annexed plan, which the College was pleaſed to adopt, and they committed the ſuperintendence to me in the arrangement and execution of ſuch parts as demanded particular nicety and attention.

The deſcription of this Obſervatory, accompanied with a ground plan and elevation, I now lay before the Academy.

Although I have ſpared neither ſtudy nor aſſiduous attention on this building and apparatus, I am not ſo vain as to ſuppoſe it perfect; it may hereafter betray to me imperfections which perhaps even now are anticipated by better judges. This time alone can determine: and the public at large, and this Academy in particular, may depend upon the moſt faithful detail of the advantages or imperfections of every thing which is original either in the building or apparatus.

With reſpect to the ſtructure, I need not, to Aſtronomers, apologize for want of ornament and architectural elegance in a building which, to anſwer its deſign fully, muſt probably reject both; perfect ſtability and convenient diſpoſition of the inſtruments form here the architect's great object; and a vain affectation of taſte may militate againſt theſe eſſential qualities.

for meaſuring meridian altitudes.—An equatorial inſtrument, the circles being five feet diameter.—And an achromatic teleſcope, mounted on a polar axis, and carried by an helioſtatic movement, for occaſional obſervations.

In the erecting of an Obſervatory the three principal points are the ſituation, foundation and ſoil. As the building muſt neceſſarily be low, the ſituation ſhould be elevated, commanding a clear horizon all around, but particularly to the North and South.

That an Obſervatory ſhould be low, muſt appear an odd aſſertion to ſuch as are acquainted with thoſe only of the laſt century, and not converſant with modern practice: the preſent refinement of aſtronomical inſtruments, ſince the application of teleſcopic ſights, demands the utmoſt ſtability. This was a point not to be obtained whilſt refracting teleſcopes, of the original frame and conſtruction, were in uſe. The unmanageable length of tube demanded by the ſimple object glaſs, where any tolerable magnifying power was deſired, rendered lofty and extenſive piles of building indiſpenſable; but the great invention of reflecting teleſcopes by Sir Iſaac Newton, and the diſcovery of the achromatic object glaſs by Mr. Dollond, ſtill more uſeful when applied to aſtronomical inſtruments, have freed us from the neceſſity of introducing thoſe lofty piles, by which the courſe of obſervation with ſome of the moſt valuable inſtruments is interrupted, and an Obſervatory injured in many and important reſpects.

In conſequence of the imperfection of teleſcopes in the times which I have mentioned, we find thoſe great and unſtable ſtructures forming an eſſential part of every Obſervatory built at that period, all which are now unneceſſary; and if through a weak attachment to old cuſtoms they are introduced into Obſervatories at preſent, they may add to the magnificence, at the expence of the value of the work.

The

The next important article is the foundation, which ſhould be of the moſt ſolid kind: For this reaſon a rock, and that of great extent*, or a hard gravel, ſhould be made choice of; if neither of theſe can be found in the place where other circumſtances require the Obſervatory to be built, it will be neceſſary to give all adventitious ſtability in our power, by deep arches or piles driven by an engine; for ſuch is the conſummate execution of modern inſtruments, that they immediately betray the imperfections of a building, whether from unſtable foundation, or inartificial ſuperſtructure.

The ſoil ſhould be naturally dry, as will generally be the caſe when the next ſtratum is gravel. The advantage of ſuch a ſoil I have frequently remarked at the Royal Obſervatory at Greenwich, during my reſidence near it, where the ſecond ſtratum, and indeed almoſt the firſt, being a flinty gravel, I have ſometimes ſeen the air ſerene, whilſt the country around has been covered with a thick fog; which poſſibly may be accounted for from the gravelly ſtratum, which ſuffers the rain and moiſt dews to percolate, and leave the ſurface dry; or, to indulge another conjecture, perhaps the poliſhed ſurface of the cold flints, with which the ſoil and ſurface abound, may tend to decompoſe the air, and make it depoſit any ſuperabundant moiſture.

The Obſervatory belonging to Trinity College, Dublin, is built on a high ground N. W. of the city, and diſtant about

* I have heard of an Obſervatory built upon a rock, but one of ſhort extent, that betrayed moſt ſingular irregularities in the poſition of the inſtruments.

four Engliſh miles. The mercury in the barometer ſtands there In. 0,254 lower than at high water mark at the Liffey in ſpring tides, the thermometer being in Dublin 62°, and at the Obſervatory 59° *. It is founded on a ſolid rock of limeſtone of ſome miles extent, which, near the Obſervatory, riſes to within ſix inches of the ſurface, and is ſo hard as to require to be blaſted with gunpowder for the ordinary uſes of the farmer. The ſoil around is compoſed of loam and a ſpecies of calcareous ſubſtance, called in Ireland limeſtone-gravel, which is very abſorbent. The horizon is remarkably extenſive, without the ſmalleſt interruption on any ſide, except that on the South the Wicklow mountains, diſtant about fifteen Engliſh miles, riſe about a degree and a half. Their diſtance ſeems to remove all apprehenſion on account of their attraction exerted on the plumb-line; and the gradual and equal acclivity of the hill, on which the building is erected, ſeems to ſecure us from any more near and dangerous local effect in that reſpect. Conſidered in another point of view, theſe mountains afford a ſtriking advantage, of which I have been frequently an eye witneſs: When clouds are coming from the South, I have often ſeen them arreſted by the mountains, leaving the ſpace from thence to my zenith ſerene, whilſt to the Eaſt and Weſt, where no ſuch obſtacles intervene, all has been obſcured with flying ſcud. From E. to S. E. the ſea is viſible, diſtant about ten or twelve miles, a circumſtance which in ſome particular caſes is not without its uſe: But what I conſider particularly happy, is the opportunity afforded by the Light-houſe for obſervations on terreſtrial refractions both by night and day. This is near five miles

* This the reſult of one obſervation only.

miles diſtant from the land, and about fifty feet above the water. In particular ſtates of the atmoſphere, and more eſpecially on the approach of ſevere weather, the Welſh mountains are diſtinctly viſible, particularly that ridge of hills which runs S. W. to point Braich-y-pwll, and bounds Caernarvon bay in that direction.

I SHALL proceed to the particulars of the plan of this Obſervatory.

PLATE I. is the elevation of the Eaſt front.

PLATE II. is the ground plan. E is the baſe of a ſolid pillar of ſixteen feet ſquare, which is of the moſt ſubſtantial maſonry, and is raiſed from the ſolid rock to ſuch height, that the centre of the equatorial inſtrument, which it is to ſupport, may overlook every part of the building. This inſtrument demands the entire range of the horizon, ſince, as it is now conſtructed, it may be applied to the moſt valuable purpoſes in Aſtronomy. It was a long time deliberated whether it would not be better to ſubſtitute for this inſtrument a vertical and azimuth circle of the ſame diameter, which has undoubtedly peculiar and unrivalled advantages; but many circumſtances of ſingular convenience in the equatorial, as alſo ſome peculiarities in its application, at length determined the choice in its favour.

THIS ſubſtantial pillar is ſurrounded by a circular wall at a foot diſtance, which is to ſupport the turning dome, and the floor of the room, which muſt not be ſuffered to touch the

pillar itſelf, or the piers which are to ariſe from it, for the ſupport of the axis of the inſtrument; and for this purpoſe the floor is framed ſo as to let the piers paſs through untouched; whence no motion of the floor or ſurrounding wall can be communicated to the inſtrument, and the temperature of the pillar is in ſome meaſure preſerved by the ſurrounding wall. The turning dome is framed of wood, each rib conſiſts of three equal and parallel pieces, the grain of the wood in theſe being ſo diſpoſed as to counteract each other's inclination to caſt or warp. The frame is covered with canvas ſoaked with drying oil, tar, and white paint, and coated afterwards with white paint, wrought to ſuch conſiſtence as to be laid on with a trowel. The inſide is to be covered with another thinner ſheeting, and between the two, wood-moſs, if neceſſary, will be introduced, to prevent the tranſmiſſion of heat. The aperture for obſervation is two feet ſix inches wide, and opens to ſix inches beyond the zenith. As the dome is an hemiſphere, the ſlide which ſhuts this aperture is made to move vertically through the zenith, with a movement ſimilar to that of ſome modern writing-tables: The ſlide paſſing through the zenith deſcends through the oppoſite quadrant of the hemiſphere within the dome; but as this ſlide exceeds ninety degrees of the hemiſphere by ſix inches, it would be impoſſible in opening the aperture to make the ſlide deſcend through its whole length on the oppoſite ſide, as the wall-plate muſt ſtop it before its aſcending extremity could reach the zenith: Therefore, to remedy this, a tranſverſe hinge is crontrived in the ſlide about eight inches from that extremity, which thus deſcends, or that end which is next the zenith when the aperture is ſhut; this hinge lets theſe eight hinges hang perpendicular to the horizon, when the ſlide has

has riſen ſo much on the other ſide, and the whole is thus allowed to deſcend until the zenith is laid open to obſervation. Around this dome there is a platform, commanding one of the moſt extenſive and varied proſpects that can be imagined *.

The room for making obſervations on the meridian requires an uninterrupted view to the North and South. This room is here placed to the Weſt of the building. It is manifeſt to any one who compares the preſent plan with the indiſpenſable requiſites of an Obſervatory, that the front might have been preſented either to the Eaſt or Weſt with equal advantage, ſo far as regards the neceſſary diſpoſition of the rooms for obſervation; the beauty of the eaſtern proſpect, and the elegance of the approach on that ſide from the city, would have been ſufficient of themſelves to have given the preference to the preſent diſpoſition; but theſe inferior conſiderations happily coincided with one much more important. In this part of the iſland the

* The Obſervatory commands on the South ſide a view of the grounds of Lord Bective, with a gentle declivity to the river, and from thence a varied picture of the rich ſcenery of the woods of the Phœnix Park, terminated in the back ground by the majeſtic grandeur of the Wicklow mountains. To the S. E. we have the city of Dublin, diſtant four miles, the ſemicircular bay with the ſhipping, and the great South Wall extending five miles into the ſea, and terminated by the Light-houſe; the ridge of rocky hills called The Three Brothers forming the head of Dalkey, and bearing Malpas's Obeliſk on the higheſt point. On the E. and N. E. Clontarf and its environs, the Hill of Howth, Ireland's Eye and Lambay. From thence to the N. W. the proſpect is ſo uncommonly level and extenſive as to gratify the aſtronomer much more than the painter; but even this variety is not without its beauty. To the S. W. we have the picturesque ruins at Caſtleknock, and to the Weſt the extended and rich view of Kildare, in which Mr. Conolly's Obeliſk forms a grand and central Object.

weſterly

weſterly winds prevail, I believe, moderately ſpeaking, two-thirds of the year; and as this circumſtance ſecures us in that proportion from any effect of the ſmoke of the city, ſo this diſpoſition of the meridian room frees us in the ſame proportion from ſmoke or other vapours from the houſe or building.

As this is the moſt eſſential part of the work, it will require a more particular detail.

The meridian room is thirty-ſeven feet two inches long, and twenty-three feet broad in the inſide clear, and twenty-one feet high. It is deſigned for the uſual obſervations of the paſſages of the heavenly bodies over the meridian, and of their meridian altitudes; theſe eſſential objects require the moſt minute attention in every particular.

But as I do not mean in this paper to enter into a detail of the particular inſtruments, I ſhall confine myſelf to an account of the methods adopted to procure convenience of obſervation, ſtability and temperature.

The broad croſs in figure 2d, plate II. repreſents a piece of the moſt ſolid maſonry, riſing from the rock to within a few inches of the joiſts of the floor, and totally unconnected with the walls. At X,X is laid down a ſolid block of Portland ſtone of nine feet two inches in length, by three feet in breadth, and one foot four inches thick. This block ſupports the pillars of the tranſit inſtrument, whoſe baſes are marked by X,X; theſe pillars are ſeven feet ſix inches high, their baſes three feet from North to South, and two feet ſix inches from Eaſt to Weſt.

Weſt. Theſe were choſen as they lay beſide each other in the quarry; and though each be a heterogeneous maſs, yet their relative parts at given altitudes are perfectly ſimilar; and this appears abſolutely neceſſary to prevent any effects of diſſimilar expanſion or contraction from heat, cold, moiſture, &c. at given heights. If Portland ſtone were perfectly homogeneous this would be an unneceſſary caution, but the ſlighteſt attention will prove that it is not ſo; and theſe pillars particularly ſhew it. Further, experiment proves to us that the temperature of the pillars is different at different altitudes; if now the two pillars at a given altitude have a given temperature, and happen to be diſſimilar at that altitude, it is natural to expect that their expanſions will be different, and the adjuſtment of the inſtrument ſupported by them deſtroyed.

Each of the ſupporting pillars conſiſting of one ſolid piece, all effects of mortar and cement are avoided, and what is of more importance, all iron cramps are unneceſſary.

The temperature of the pillars at different heights is ſhewn by thermometers, the tubes of which are bent at right angles, and their bulbs are inſerted into the ſtone, and ſurrounded with duſt of the ſame ſtone.

Near the weſtern end of the croſs ariſe four pillars, marked M, M, M, M, for the ſupport of the frame of the vertical meridian circle *. Beneath, from North to South, is laid another block of Portland

* Inſtead of quadrants attached to a ſtone pillar, it is propoſed here to have an entire circle of ten feet diameter, ſupported on a vertical axis: This alteration ſeems

Portland ſtone, ſo placed as not to touch the pillars or floor; this is to ſupport the vertical axis. C repreſents the clock pillar, being five feet ſquare at the baſe, decreaſing as it riſes to two feet above, in order to afford all proper ſtability. This may appear to ſome perhaps rather whimſical than neceſſary; but it would not be difficult to ſhew, both from theory and experiment, the neceſſity of the moſt ſolid ſupport for a clock, on which, according to the modern practice, ſo much juſtly depends. Beſides, there is a proper degree of attention due on our part to the work of Mr. Arnold, whoſe reputation in ſome degree lies at the mercy of every one who may or may not be induced to give to his ſuperior work every minute attention which it requires and deſerves. Our clocks, executed by him, are finiſhed in a maſterly manner, the pallets of ruby, all the holes of the laſt movement jewelled, the ſuſpenſion ſprings of gold, with his own five-barred pendulum, with cheeks capable of experimental adjuſtment, ſo as to prove all vibrations iſochronal, whatever be the throw out of the clock.

The floor of the room is framed ſo as to let all theſe pillars riſe totally detached from it. A few inches above the floor, around each pillar, is a wooden ſkirting, terminated by pliable leather, which reaches to the floor, and overhangs a moulding raiſed about each pillar. This is done to prevent the admiſſion of

ſeems to promiſe many advantages in temperature both of air and inſtrument, facility and accuracy of adjuſtment, not to mention the certainty of being enabled to prove the centre of the inſtrument; but on this I ſhall not at preſent enlarge

of duſt, which might in time form a communication between the maſonry and the floor.

It has not been uſual in Obſervatories to place the tranſit inſtrument and thoſe adopted for meaſuring altitudes in the ſame room, and yet ſome advantages ariſe from it. In the firſt place, one clock ſuffices, which is a circumſtance of ſome œconomy, where the price is eighty guineas. But the following is a ſingular convenience: it not unfrequently happens that one perſon is obliged to take both the meridian tranſit and the altitude of a celeſtial object, in which caſe theſe inſtruments being placed near each other afford a ſtriking advantage. The obſerver may take the paſſage of the ſun's limb (for inſtance) over the two firſt wires of the tranſit inſtrument, omit the middle wire, haſten to the circle, take the altitude of one limb, and write it down, then take the altitude of the other, and leave it to be read off at leiſure, return to the tranſit inſtrument, and take the paſſage over the two laſt wires, whence the right aſcenſion can be determined with as much accuracy as if the paſſage over the meridian wire itſelf had been obſerved.

So far we have conſulted ſtability and convenient diſpoſition; the proviſion for equability of temperature is next to be conſidered.

It is manifeſt that obſervations with ſuch large inſtruments cannot be made abſolutely in the open air; all we have left therefore is to admit as free a paſſage to the external air as is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the inſtruments and the obſerver.

For this purpoſe the meridian apertures for the tranſit inſtrument and circle are ſix feet wide; which is a breadth conſiderably greater than I have yet heard of in any Obſervatory. Theſe, or a part of them, ſhould be left open until the temperature within and that abroad are found to agree entirely, or as nearly as can be effected: through theſe and the windows there is a free admiſſion of air; but to break the force of the wind, which might agitate the plumb-lines, and at times diſplace the inſtrument, there are ſkreens of the thinneſt canvas pervious to the air, which are contrived, occaſionally to cover the aperture, except a ſpace of two feet in the middle; but this only uſed in windy weather. And that the temperature within may at all times be more nearly equal to that of the external air, there are ſemicircular air-holes in the walls grated and covered with the ſame kind of wide canvas, which are deſigned to be left always open to the air, except in wet or damp weather, at which times they may be cloſed with ſhutters within. The ſame proviſion is made here as in the equatorial dome to prevent the tranſmiſſion of heat.

Plate II. Fig. 3.

The South and North wings now only remain to be explained.

The South wing is deſigned for occaſional obſervations, ſuch as eclipſes, occultations, &c. which being confined to the planets, require only the range of that part of the hemiſphere in which theſe can at any time be viſible. On this account the centre of the ſouthern dome is ſo far removed towards the South, that a line drawn from thence to the extremity of the meridian room ſhall

ſhall clear the greateſt amplitude of any of the planets in this latitude; for as to comets, they are always moſt conveniently obſerved by the equatorial inſtrument, and that has the entire horizon at command in this Obſervatory.

In this ſouthern wing P, P repreſent the baſes of two pillars which are to riſe into the dome; and, reſting on ſolid maſonry, unconnected with the floor and ſurrounding walls, are to ſupport a polar axis, carrying an achromatic teleſcope, to which it is propoſed to apply an helioſtatic movement, which will carry it round with an equable motion in a ſidereal day. This is not a matter of ſimple amuſement, many advantages ariſe from ſuch an apparatus. Every practiſed obſerver is aware of the errors that muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the permanency of the effect of light upon the organ of ſight; this makes it probable that we do not always ſee a ſtar in its true place in the field of a fixed teleſcope. In the tranſit inſtrument, for inſtance, the image of the wire does not change its place in the eye, but is permanent; as that of a ſtar approaches this wire, the laſt impreſſion remains until the ſtar has paſſed the wire, and before the new impreſſion is ſenſible. As to the diſtinctneſs of viſion to be expected from it, the following experiment will be ſufficient for any one who doubts. Let a line be drawn horizontally upon a wall, at ſuch diſtance from a teleſcope as that the obſerver ſhall be able to read through it tolerably ſmall print; let the teleſcope be directed to a certain point in this line; let a man move a printed paper, having both large and ſmall characters along this line as equably as he can; when the paper comes oppoſite the teleſcope, the obſerver will find that the greater characters alone are diſtinct, but let him follow the paper with the teleſcope and he will find the ſmall characters

diſtinct likewiſe. This inſtrument promiſes alſo the faireſt trial to the wire micrometer, which has, I fear, too haſtily been laid aſide. The priſmatic, the Caſſegrain, the divided object glaſs, the divided eye-glaſs micrometers, have all their particular diſadvantages, deriving error from metaphyſical as well as phyſical ſources; not that I mean to infer that the wire micrometer is unobjectionable.

The dome of the upper room here is to be ſimilar to that of the equatorial room, and is deſigned for this one inſtrument. Two obſervers in the ſame room are too many for ſuch obſervations as are to be made here: He muſt be a ſteady practiſed obſerver, whoſe imagination will not be affected when another, with a more perfect inſtrument, gives evident ſigns of his obſervation being compleated, whilſt to the former it has not yet taken place. Thus let us ſuppoſe two teleſcopes of different powers applied to an emerſion of one of Jupiter's ſatellites, the better teleſcope may perhaps ſhew it fourteen or fifteen ſeconds ſooner than the other; now if the obſerver with the better teleſcope riſe to write down his obſervation, he will not only diſturb the other with the noiſe, but the imagination of the latter may even perſuade him that the emerſion has taken place to his eye, when with ſuch a teleſcope it was impoſſible. To avoid this inconvenience, the lower room is deſigned to permit occaſional obſervers to practice, and maſonry is contrived to ſupport other teleſcopes with proper ſtability. The northern wing may be applied to the uſe of a zenith ſector if required *, and an apparatus

* Or of a pillar quadrant, if that ſhould by any one hereafter be conſidered as an expedient method for determining refractions.

apparatus of maſonry ſimilar to that in the ſouthern wing is propoſed for occaſional obſervers.

I HAVE now gone through the particulars of the conſtruction of this Obſervatory, which I hope and truſt will be a laſting monument to the honor of its founder, Doctor Francis Andrews, and a memorial to ages of the liberality and zeal of Trinity College, Dublin. May the ſpirit of true and genuine ſcience, for which this College has ever been diſtinguiſhed, continue unabated to remoteſt ages, ſupplying the world with men of genius and learning worthy of ſuch a patronage.

Plate I

5 10 15

ELEVATION of East front of the **OBSE**

ELEVATION of East front of the **OBSERVATORY** *belonging to Trinity College DUBLIN.*

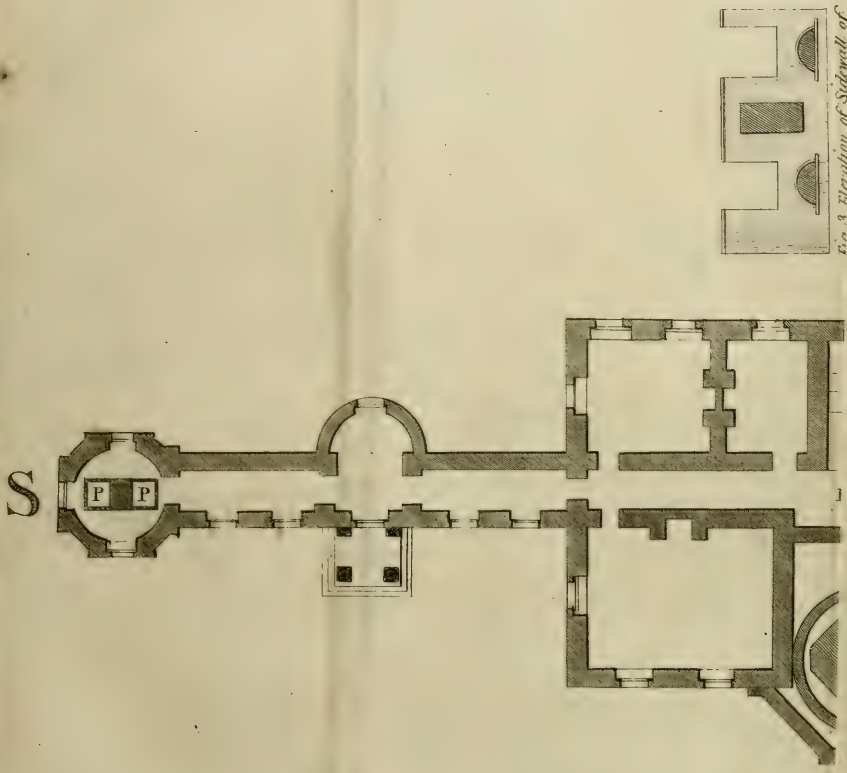
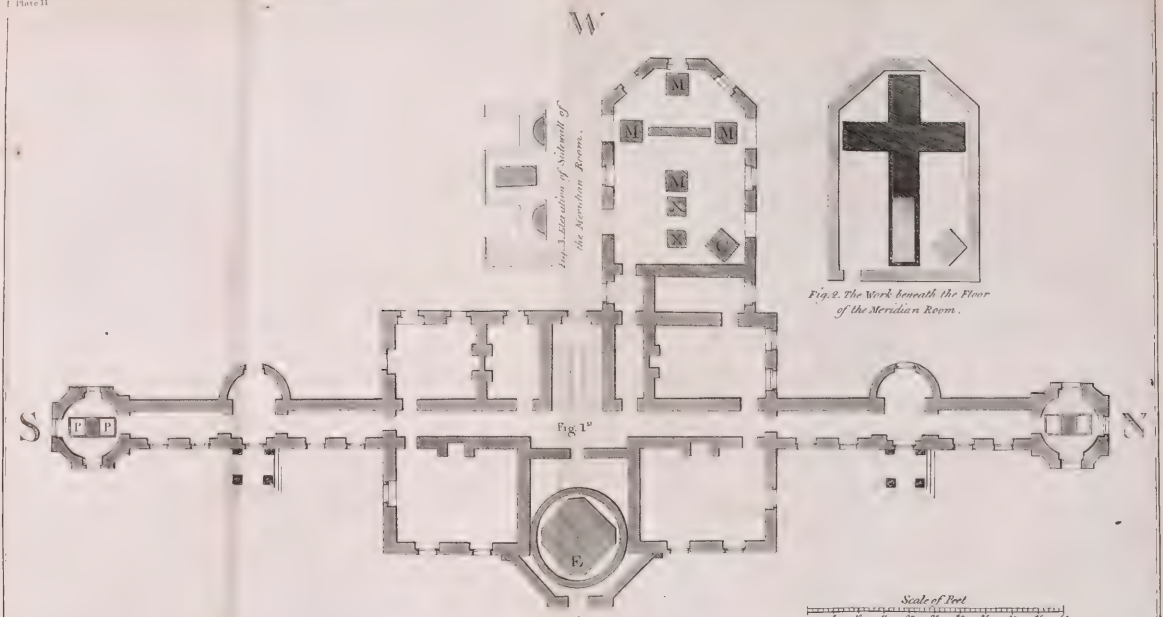


Fig. 3. Elevation of Sidewall of

H. Usher Inv.t et Del.t

GROUND PLAN of the OBSERVAT

Plate II



GROUND PLAN of the OBSERVATORY belonging to Trinity College DUBLIN.

J. Ford Sculpt.

A LETTER *to the Rev.* HENRY USSHER, *D. D. from the Rev.* JAMES A. HAMILTON, *D. D. M. R. I. A. giving an Account of* PARHELIA *ſeen at Cookſtown September* 24, 1783.

CARIFF, JANUARY 20, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave, through you, to communicate to the Royal Iriſh Academy, the following very curious optical phænomena which I obſerved September 24, 1783, at Cookſtown, where I then reſided, and paid a pretty regular attention to aſtronomical and meteorological obſervations.

Read February 6, 1786.

WEDNESDAY, September 24th, 1783, as I was preparing to obſerve the ſun paſſing the meridian, before the 1ſt limb touched the centre wire, it was obſcured by a dark well-defined cloud, about 10° in diameter. Upon going to the door of the tranſit room, to ſee if it was likely ſoon to paſs off the diſk of the ſun, I obſerved the following phænomena:

FROM

From the weſtern edge of the cloud iſſued a luminous arc parallel to the horizon, perfectly well defined, extending exactly to the northern meridian; it was about 30′ broad, white, and ended in a blunted termination. On it were two parhelia; the neareſt to the ſun diſplaying the priſmatic colours; the remote one white, and both ill defined. In a ſhort time the cloud had paſſed off, and ſhewed the luminous almicantar, reaching perfect to the true ſun. While things were thus ſituated, I meaſured with an accurate ſextant the diſtances of the parhelia; I found the coloured one 26°, the remoter one 90°, from the true ſun. Juſt as I had done this, a new and priſmatic circle ſurrounded the ſun, immediately within the priſmatic parhelion. And now another coloured parhelion appeared on the eaſtern board. The ſextant with its face up and down, exactly meaſured this and the former at the original diſtance of 26°; the luminous almicantar ſtill remaining perfect. In about ten or twelve minutes, whitiſh hazy clouds came on, and obſcured all theſe uncommon appearances. I did not obſerve that the atmoſpherical phænomena before or after were at all uncommon. The wind a light breeze at S. S. W. Bar. 29,6 riſing. Thermometer 55°.

Plate III. Fig. 1.

S M. repreſents the ſouth meridian.

N. M. north meridian.

P. P. the priſmatic circle, with two priſmatic ſuns or parhelia, at 26° diſtance on each ſide the true ſun.

W. the white parhelion, at 90° diſtance from the true ſun.

L. A. the luminous almicantar.

And H O. the horizon.

OBSERVATIONS *of the* LUNAR ECLIPSE, *March 18th*, 1783. *Communicated by the Rev.* H. USSHER, *D. D.*

Read December 5, 1785.

I WAS accompanied and aſſiſted in the following obſervations by the Rev. W. Hamilton, Member of this Academy, and by Mr. Arthur M'Guire.

The latter gentleman obſerved, with an Hadley's ſextant, equal verſed ſines of the uneclipſed part, being anxious to ſee how nearly the middle of the eclipſe might be deduced from that kind of obſervation, which at ſea might be of uſe, when the weather happens to be too hazy to ſhew the ſpots diſtinctly.

Mr. Hamilton made his obſervations with a teleſcope of two feet focus double object glaſs. I obſerved the beginning and end of the eclipſe, and the beginning and end of total darkneſs, with a night teleſcope, the aperture being diminiſhed about one third; and the other phenomena with a teleſcope of ſeventeen inches

 focus

focus triple object glaſs. The obſervations are reduced to mean time, on the meridian of the College of Dublin.

Phenomena.	H. U. mean time.	W. H. mean time.	
	H. ' "	H. ' "	
Beginning of the Eclipſe	7 14 9		
Grimaldi covered	15 50		
Galileo —	19 52		
Ariſtarchus touches	24 29		
covered	— —	7 24 58	
Kepler touches	26 13		
biſected	27 45		
covered	29 16		
Copernicus touches	34 58	34 43	
biſected	36 13		
covered	38 10		
Tycho touches	42 2		
biſected	43 13		
Plato touches	47 59		
covered	49 15		
Manilius touches	51 58		
covered	52 33		
Menelaus touches	54 58		
covered	56 3		
Proclus biſected	8 8 5		
Mare criſium touches	9 43	8 9 18	
biſected	11 33	11 18	
covered	12 58	12 38	
Beginning of total dark.	14 8	13 58	

End

Phenomena.	H. U.			W. H.		
	H.	′	″	H.	′	″
End of total darkneſs	9	27	28	9	57	33
Grimaldi biſected	10	00	15			
Galileo biſected		3	58			
Ariſtarchus touches		—	—	10	9	13
biſected		9	35			
Kepler biſected		12	17			
emerged		13	8			
Tycho touches		19	13		19	13
emerged		20	18		21	13
Copernicus biſected		21	13			
Plato touches		26	58			
biſected		27	23			
emerged		28	3		28	8
Manilius biſected		36	23			
Menelaus biſected		39	13			
Proclus emerged		51	43			
Mare criſium touches		52	43			
biſected		54	23			
End of the eclipſe	10	56	28	10	57	13

The middle of the eclipſe, deduced from a mean of ſeveral obſerved equal verſed ſines, differed but eleven ſeconds from that deduced from the beginning and end of total darkneſs.

The Aſtronomer Royal was ſo obliging as to ſend me the correſpondent obſervations at Greenwich; and as the longitude of Dublin is not yet accurately determined, the difference of longitude deduced from the mean of theſe may be

of ſome uſe for the preſent; theſe make it ^{H} 0 24′ 57″,9 Weſt of Greenwich. In July, 1783, Mr. Arnold came here from England, and had with him one of his large pocket time-keepers, the rate and error of which had been ſettled before he left Greenwich. I determined the difference of times by equal altitudes the day of his arrival and the day before his departure; and by compariſon on his return to Greenwich, made at my requeſt, and communicated to me by Doctor Maſkelyne, the difference of the longitude by the watch was ^{H} 0 24′ 58″,2, differing only ſix tenths of a ſecond from what I had made it by obſervation on his arrival.

The following obſervations of the ſame eclipſe have been commuicated to me:

		H	′	″	
At the Hague	Beginning	7	58	7	mean time.
	Begin. of total dark.	—	—	—	
	End of total dark.	10	37	52	
	End of eclipſe	11	40	7	
At Paris, Cabinet du Roi, 14″ W. of the Royal Obſervatory,	Beginning	7	41	15	ap. time.
	Total darkneſs	8	41	8	
	End of total darkneſs ſuppoſed	10	21	43	
	D°. certain	10	22	34	
	End ſuppoſed	11	22	30	
	D°. certain	11	24	10	

At

		H	′	″	
At Thoulouſe	Beginning	7	37	40	ap. time.
	Total darkneſs	8	38	25	
	End of ditto	10	20	20	
	End of eclipſe	11	20	30	

The following obſervations of the lunar eclipſe, September 10th, 1783, were communicated to me by the Rev. Doctor J. A. Hamilton, made by him at Cookſtown, in longitude H 0 ′ 26 ″ 48,9 weſt of Greenwich:

Clock ſlow ″ 1,5.

			H	′	″	
Beginning of eclipſe	—	—	20	35	00	ſider. time.
Pythagorus covered	—	—		41	47	
Copernicus touches	—	—		50	16	
covered	—	—		52	14	
Plato touches	—	—		57	18	
covered	—	—		58	22	
Tycho touches	—	—	21	4	40	
covered	—	—		6	46	
Ariſtotle covered	—	—		7	45	
Manilius covered	—	—		10	35	
Mare criſium touches	—	—		23	15	
Plinius and bright ſpot in mare criſium covered				24	55	
Mare criſium biſected		—		26	40	
D°. covered and Langrenus touches				28	12	
Total darkneſs	—	—		34	5	

The emerſions were not obſerved by Dr. Hamilton. The ſtate of the weather prevented me from obſerving this eclipſe. Juſt before the penumbra was expected, there was a tolerably bright

bright halo around the moon, at 24½ degrees from her; and in this on the weſtern ſide, in the moon's almacantar, was formed an imperfect paraſeline, the tail extending weſtward, and ill defined. The wind had been at N. W. all the evening, with light breezes, but ſuddenly died away when the paraſeline appeared; preſently the moon was covered with clouds, and the wind came to S. W. Barom. 29, 61, therm. 59¼.

A SYNTHETICAL DEMONSTRATION *of the* RULE *for the* QUADRATURE *of* SIMPLE CURVES, *in the Analyſis per Equationes terminorum numero infinitas.*

By the Rev. M. YOUNG, *D. D.*

Read March 6, 1786.

DOCTOR Wallis, about the year 1651, having met with the mathematical writings of Torricelli, in which, amongſt other things, he explains Cavalerius's attempt to render the ancient method of Exhauſtions more conciſe by his *Geometry* of indiviſibles, conceived that an *Arithmetic* of infinites might be applied to the contemplation of curve lines with ſucceſs; and that perhaps the quadrature of the circle, were it at all poſſible, might finally be attained in this manner. What led him to theſe expectations, as he tells us in his dedication to Oughtred, was this: the ratio of the infinite circles of a cone to as many of a cylinder on the ſame baſe and of the ſame altitude,

altitude, was known, viz. as 1 to 3; but all their diameters in the triangle through the axis of the cone, to as many in the parallelogram through the axis of the cylinder, as 1 to 2. In like manner it was known, that all the circles in the parabolic conoid were to as many circles in a cylinder as 1 to 2; but all the diameters of the former to thoſe of the latter as 2 to 3. It was alſo manifeſt, that the right-lines of the triangle were arithmetically proportional, or as the numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. therefore, the circles of the cone (being in a duplicate ratio of their diameters) as 1, 4, 9, &c. Alſo the circles of the parabolic conoid (being in the duplicate ratio of the ordinates, that is, in the ratio of the diameters) were as 1, 2, 3, &c. therefore their diameters as $\sqrt{1}$, $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{3}$, &c. He therefore hoped, that from knowing the ratio of a ſeries of circles or ſquares (which is the ſame thing) to as many equals, he ſhould be able to diſcover what was the ratio of their diameters or ſides to as many equals; and that if this were once proved univerſally, the quadrature of the circle would follow of conſequence. For as it was already known, that all the parallel circles in a ſphere were to as many in a cylinder as 2 to 3; if it could be from thence diſcovered what was the ratio of the ſum of all the diameters of the one to the ſum of all the diameters of the other, the quadrature of the circle would be attained; as the former ſum conſtitutes the area of the circle, and the latter the area of the circumſcribed ſquare: the geometrical problem being thus reduced to one purely arithmetical. Obſerving then the analogy between the terms of certain infinite ſeries, and the ordinates of certain curves, he diſcovered rules for finding the ſums of theſe ſeries, and conſequently attained the quadrature of thoſe curves whoſe ordinates were proportional to the terms of theſe ſeries. In this

this enquiry he began with the more ſimple ſeries, firſt conſidering arithmetical progreſſions; then he proceeded to thoſe whoſe terms were as the ſquares, cubes, biquadrates, &c. or as the ſquare roots, cube roots, &c. of the terms of thoſe arithmetical progreſſions. He afterwards conſidered thoſe progreſſions whoſe terms were as any dimenſion whatſoever of the terms of the arithmetical progreſſions; that is, the indices or exponents of whoſe dimenſions were as any numbers, integral, fractional, or ſurd, whether poſitive or negative. He conſidered theſe progreſſions as conſiſting of an infinite number of terms, the laſt term, which repreſented the laſt ordinate of the curve, being ſtill finite; and the intermediate terms from o to the laſt, being infinite in number, repreſented ordinates applied to the axis, at infinitely ſmall and equal diſtances, between the vertex and laſt ordinate. Or perhaps theſe terms repreſented any other lines right or curve; or any plain or curve ſurfaces, in the caſe of ſolids, which were proportional to them. At length, by an induction of particulars, he came to this general theorem, which is the 64th of his Arithmetica Infinitorum, " In any infinite " ſeries of quantities beginning from o, and continually increaſ- " ing according to any power whatſoever, whether ſimple or " compounded of ſuch as are ſimple, the ratio of all the terms " of ſuch a ſeries is to as many times the greateſt, as unity to the " index of that power increaſed by unity." And this is the ſame in ſubſtance with Sir I. Newton's firſt rule for the quadrature of ſimple curves, in his Anal. per Equat. t. n. infin. which was inveſtigated, in the manner juſt now mentioned, by an induction of particulars by Wallis, but which Newton demonſtrated univerſally by an indefinite index, as was his manner, comprehending, in one general propoſition, all thoſe particular caſes which

others had demonſtrated with limitations. In the analytical demonſtration however which he has given of this thorem, certain quantities are omitted as being indefinitely little; and therefore it is not delivered with that ακριβειαν. which is required in ſubjects of this nature. Fermat has given us a ſynthetic demonſtration of this theorem, which Doctor Horſely has inſerted in his notes on this tract of Newton, but it is ſo tedious and prolix, that even the analytical is preferable to it. I ſhall here give a ſynthetical demonſtration alſo of the ſame general propoſition on the principles of *prime and ultimate ratios*, a method of reaſoning which Newton ſeems to have had ſome idea of even at the time of his writing this Analyſis, in the year 1669, though probably he did not bring it to perfection until eighteen years after, when he firſt publiſhed the Principia.

RULE I. QUAD. *of* SIMPLE CURVES.

Plate III. Fig. 2.

Let the baſe AB of any curve AD have BD for its perpendicular ordinate; and let AB=X, BD=Y; alſo let a be a given quantity, and m, n, whole numbers. Then if $Y=aX^{\frac{m}{n}}$, it ſhall be, area $ABD=\frac{n}{m+n}X^{\frac{m+n}{n}}$.

Let DC, AC, drawn through D and A parallel to AB and DB, meet in C; draw the ordinate d b indefinitely near to DB, meeting CD in s; and through d draw r p parallel to AB. Since $Y=aX^{\frac{m}{n}}$, the moment of Y will be equal to the moment of

of $aX^{\frac{m}{n}}$; that is, $y = \frac{am}{n} X^{\frac{m-n}{n}} x$, by Cas. 5. Lem. 2. B. 2. Principia. Now the rectangle sDBb is the rectangle under the ordinate and moment of the abſciſſe, that is, Yx; and the rectangle CDpr is the rectangle under the abſciſſe and moment of the ordinate, that is, Xy; therefore bD : Cp :: Yx : Xy; that is, ſubſtituting its value for y,

$$\text{as } Yx : \frac{am}{n} X^{\frac{m}{n}} x;$$

$$\text{or as } Y : \frac{am}{n} X^{\frac{m}{n}};$$

$$\text{or as } aX^{\frac{m}{n}} : \tfrac{am}{n} X^{\frac{m}{n}}, \text{ that is, as } 1 \text{ to } \frac{m}{n}.$$

By a like proceſs it may be ſhewn, that if AB be divided into an indefinite number of parts, and upon each there be conſtructed a rectangle ob in the ſame manner as on bB, and through g there be drawn tq parallel to the baſe; the rectangle ob will be to the correſponding rectangle rq ultimately in the given ratio of 1 to $\frac{m}{n}$. Therefore the ſum of all the indefinitely little rectangles sB will be to the ſum of the correſponding rectangles Cp, in the ſame ratio; therefore the curve ADB is to the curve ACD as 1 to $\frac{m}{n}$, Cor. Lem. 4. B. 1. Prin. and the curve ADB to the rectangle ACDB, as 1 to $\frac{m+n}{n}$; but the rectangle $ACDB = YX = aX^{\frac{m+n}{n}}$; there-

fore the curve ADB is to $aX^{\frac{m+n}{n}}$ as 1 to $\frac{m+n}{n}$, and therefore equal to $\frac{n}{m+n} \times aX^{\frac{m+n}{n}}$. Q. E. D.

If the ordinate BD be oblique to the baſe, the area, found as above, muſt be diminiſhed in the ratio of radius to the ſine of the angle made by the ordinate and baſe.

This demonſtration being admitted, the whole doctrine of quadratures becomes a branch of *prime and ultimate ratios*, and conſequently of pure geometry.

We are to obſerve, that the reaſon why the curves treated of above are perfectly quadrable is, becauſe the rectangles inſcribed in the curve are to the reſpective rectangles inſcribed in the exterior ſpace, ultimately, in a given ratio, whence the curve will be to that ſpace (Cor. Lem. 4. Prin.) and conſequently to the circumſcribed rectangle, in a given ratio. But this is not the caſe in the circle, which therefore is not quadrable by this method, at leaſt in its preſent ſtate. But though the ratio of the rectangles inſcribed in a quadrant to their correſponding rectangles in the exterior ſpace of a circumſcribed ſquare perpetually varies from the beginning of the quadrant to the end, yet this variation is regular, beginning from the finite ratio of 2 to 1, and conſtantly approaching the infinite ratio of 1 to nothing. The law of which approach may be thus determined:

Plate III. Fig. 3.

If a ſquare APCO be circumſcribed about a quadrant ACO, and the radius AO be divided into any number of equal parts whatſoever, and on theſe parts rectangles as moBD de erected, and inſcribed in the quadrant, and through the extremities of the ordinates nm, BD, right lines tp. rB be drawn parallel to the radius AO, and thus as many correſponding rectangles, as rBtp, be inſcribed in the exterior ſpace: then the breadth of theſe rectangles being diminiſhed indefinitely, each rectangle in the quadrant will be to its correſponding rectangle in the exterior ſpace as DR to DO, that is, as the ſum of the radius AO and the ſegment DO between the centre and ordinate to that ſegment.

Let the abſciſſe AD=X; the ordinate BD=Y; the diameter AR=a.

$Y^2=\overline{aX-X^2}$, from the nature of the circle.

Therefore $2Yy=ax-2Yx$ (Lem. 2. B. 2. Prin.), $y=\frac{ax-2Xx}{2\overline{aX-X^2}^{\frac{1}{2}}}$;

but moBD is to Brpt as Yx to Xy.

that is, as Yx to $\frac{aXx-2X^2x}{2\overline{aX-X^2}^{\frac{1}{2}}}$

that is, as Y to $\frac{aX-2X^2}{2\overline{aX-X^2}^{\frac{1}{2}}}$

that is, as $\overline{aX-X^2}^{\frac{1}{2}}$ to $\frac{aX-2X^2}{2\overline{aX-X^2}^{\frac{1}{2}}}$

that is, as $2aX-2X^2$ to $aX-2X^2$

or, as $a-X$ to $\frac{1}{2}a-X$, or as DR to DO.

In

In A, the extremity of the diameter, DR is to DO as 2 to 1; as D approaches O, this ratio continually encreaſes, and in O this ratio becomes 1 to nothing.

Hence if the radius AO be divided into any number of equal parts, and there be conſtituted a ſeries of fractions, whoſe numerators are the natural numbers increaſing from unity to that number of parts, and whoſe denominators are the continuation of that ſeries; then the rectangles inſcribed in the circle will be to the reſpective rectangles in the exterior ſpace, ultimately as 1 to the ſucceſſive terms of this ſeries beginning with the leaſt. Thus, ſuppoſe the radius divided into 8 equal parts, then the ultimate ratio of the correſponding rectangles from the beginning of the quadrant will be the ratio of 1 to the terms of the following ſeries:

$$\frac{8}{16}, \frac{7}{15}, \frac{6}{14}, \frac{5}{13}, \frac{4}{12}, \frac{3}{11}, \frac{2}{10}, \frac{1}{9}.$$

On ſimilar principles we may demonſtrate the following theorem in the Analyſis Equationum, &c. in a much more ſimple and elegant manner than by the method of fluxions.

Plate III. Fig. 4.

Let ALE be an ellipſe, whoſe $\frac{1}{2}$ tranſverſe axis is CL, $\frac{1}{2}$ conjugate AC; let CB=x, BD=y, AC=c, and CL=t. The ultimate ratio of DG : GH, is the ratio of DB : BT, ∴ ultimately, $DG^2 : GH^2 :: Y^2 : BT^2$.

$y^2 = \frac{t^2}{c^2} \times \overline{c^2 - x^2}$ from the nature of the figure;

$BT = \frac{c^2}{x} - x$, and $BT^2 = \frac{\overline{c^2 - x^2}^2}{x^2}$

∴ DG^2

$\because DG^2 = GH^2 \times \frac{t^2 x^2}{c^4 - c^2 x^2}$

$DH^2 = HG^2 + DG^2 = GH^2 + GH^2 \times \frac{t^2 x^2}{c^4 - c^2 x^2} = GH^2 \times \frac{c^4 - c^2 + t^2 x^2}{c^4 - c^2 x^2}$

$\because DH = GH \times \frac{\sqrt{c^4 - c^2 + t}\, x^2}{\sqrt{c^4 - c^2 x^2}}$; that is, ſuppoſing $c = 1$, $t^2 - c^2 = a$, and $c^2 = b$.

$DH = GH \times \frac{\sqrt{1 + ax^2}}{\sqrt{1 - bx^2}}$: or, the moment of the arch is equal to the moment of the abſciſſe multiplied into $\frac{\sqrt{1 + ax^2}}{\sqrt{1 - bx^2}}$.

Wherefore a curve, whoſe ordinate is this latter quantity, increaſes in the ſame manner as the elliptical arch; and conſequently the area deſcribed by that ordinate is analogous to the length of the elliptical arch; ſo that both may be denoted by the ſame algebraical expreſſion.

PLATE III.

Fig. 2.

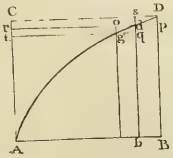
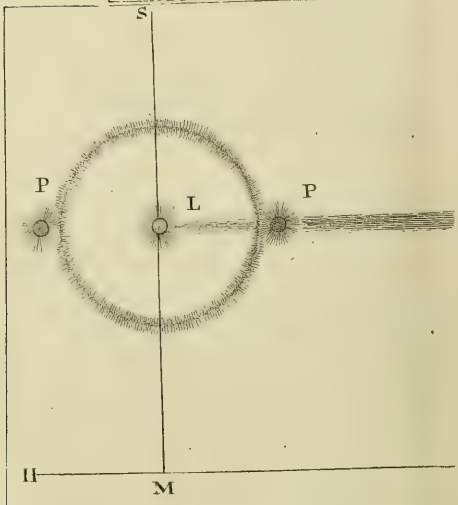


Fig. 3



Let the drawing be bent inwards till M
NM *the North Meridian,* PP *prismatic Circle*
true Sun, W *white starhelion at 90° dist. from*

See In Face Page 40

PLATE III

Fig. 2.

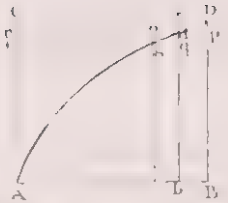


Fig. 3

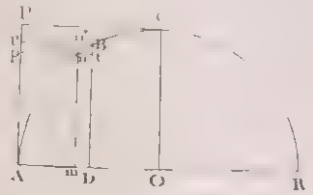
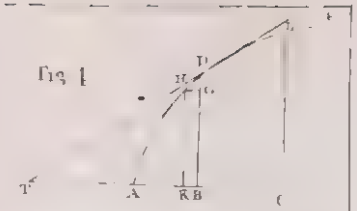


Fig. 4



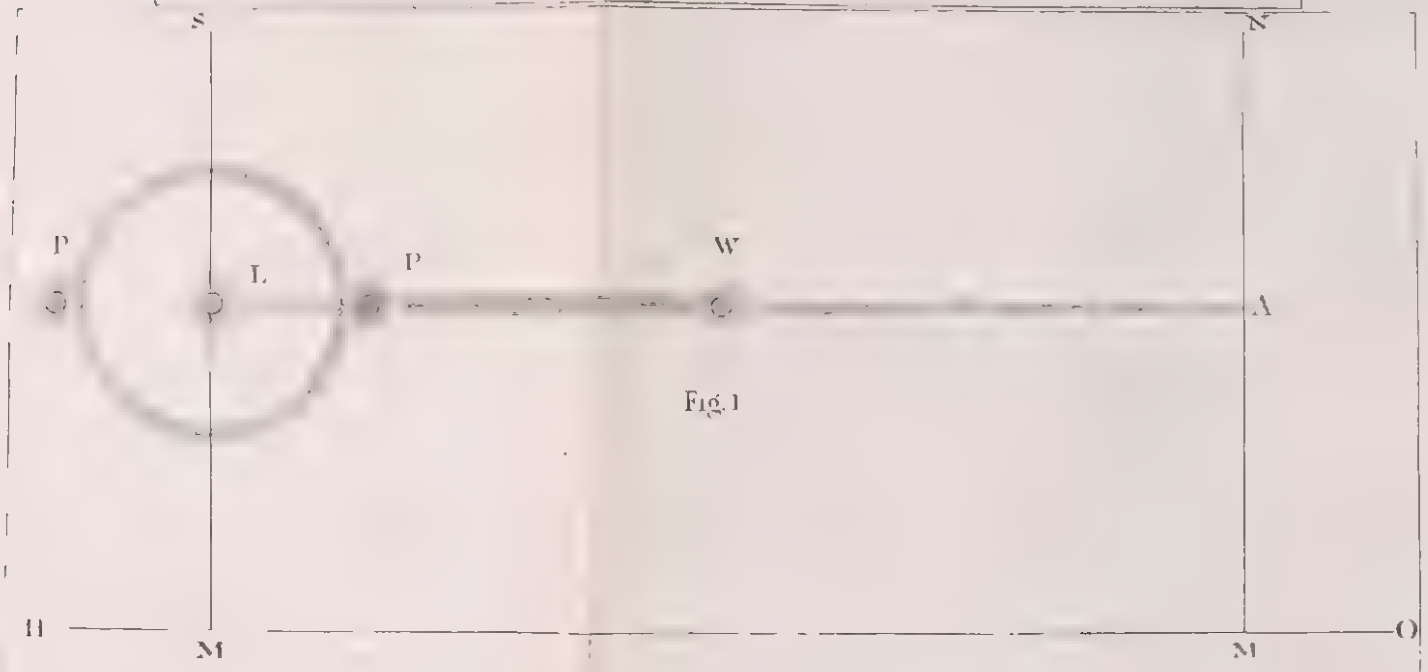


Fig. 1

Let the drawing be set towards till MM *becomes a semicircle then will* SM *represent the south Meridian* NM *the North Meridian,* PP *prismatic circle with two prismatic suns or parhelia at 20 dist on each side the true sun* W *white parhelion at 90 dist from the true sun* LA *luminous Almicantar and* HO *the Horizon.*

DESCRIPTION *of a new portable* BAROMETER, *by the Rev.* ARTHUR M'GUIRE. *Communicated by the Rev.* H. USSHER, *D. D. M. R. I. A. and F. R. S.*

THE art of meaſuring abſolute and relative acceſſible heights by the barometer has, within a few years, been brought to a very conſiderable degree of perfection, by ingenious theory, critical experiments, and improved inſtruments. Read May 1, 1786.

THIS mode of meaſurement is, in practice, of ſingular ſimplicity, and the labour of calculation, originally not very great, is almoſt annihilated by the induſtry of the ingenious.

As all accuracy in theſe meaſures depends upon the inſtrument, every attempt to diſcover any ſource of error, even without its remedy, may be of uſe, by exciting ingenious artiſts to exert their induſtry in rendering this valuable inſtrument more unexceptionable.

It is univerſally allowed that mercury readily imbibes air when in contact with it, particularly when they are agitated together: but as from the nature of the inſtrument the contact cannot be intirely avoided, our attention ſhould be directed to leſſen the agitation as far as poſſible; and to diminiſh the quantity of air in contact when ſuch agitation cannot be intirely removed.

Most portable barometers which I have ſeen have the reſervoir made of ſoft leather: From the pliable texture of this material, and the great elaſticity of mercury, a conſiderable degree of agitation takes place in carriage, even when the adjuſting ſcrew at bottom is forced up as far as poſſible.—Now even allowing the leather to be impervious to air, ſtill the ſmall quantity of air which remains in the caſes covering the floating gages muſt, when the inſtrument is inverted, paſs through the body of mercury in the reſervoir, and be detained by the leather in contact and perpetual agitation with the mercury.

Upon conſidering this matter, it occurred to me that it might perhaps be of uſe to make one that ſhould have the reſervoir of wood: The following conſtruction has ſucceeded beyond my expectation:

Plate iſt, is a drawing of the inſtrument, or rather of what is different in this from other portable barometers.

The upper part, which is here omitted, is contrived, as is uſual in all good inſtruments of this kind, to ſhew the column of

of mercury with its convex ſurface againſt the light, through a groove cut intirely through the braſs tube; within this latter, and ſurrounding the glaſs tube, ſlides a ſmall one, carrying the vernier, and moved by tooth and pinion; the lower edge of this ſhews an accurate contact with the convex ſurface of the mercury at the time of obſervation.

Plate 2d, is a ſection of the reſervoir and other particulars.

In fig. 1ſt, RRRR is the reſervoir formed in the turning lathe, by means of an hollowing tool introduced through the hole made for the piece L, which contains the glaſs tube I.

A is a cylindrical plug of wood, which is made to aſcend or deſcend in a hollowed cylindrical ſpace, which it very nearly fills when down; this aſcent and deſcent is effected by turning the piece M, on which is cut a ſwift ſcrew working in the piece B, which piece B is ſcrewed firmly into the box; after that the plug A is introduced and fitted into its place. G is an ivory floating gage of the uſual form.

Let us now ſuppoſe the mercury introduced into the reſervoir, with the floating gage reſting upon it, its ſurface being repreſented by the dotted line. If now the ſcrew M be turned ſo as to raiſe the plug A, the mercury will deſcend into the deſerted ſpace, and the ſurface and the floating gage reſting upon it will deſcend: Thus it appears that the piece A, as raiſed or depreſſed by the ſcrew M, is the regulator of the gage at the time of making an obſervation.

Now to fill the tube up to the top, and thereby render the inſtrument portable, you muſt proceed as follows:

By means of the crank, Fig. 2d, turn the ſtop-cocks C and F, (Pl. 1ſt and 2d) until the communication be open through them to the air, as marked in Pl. 2d, Fig. 1ſt, in which you muſt conceive the ſeparated pieces lowered down, and firmly ſcrewed into their places, as repreſented in Pl. 1ſt. Then the piece H, which is alſo tubular, being ſcrewed down into its place in the piece F, pour in mercury at the top T until the reſervoir be intirely filled, and continue pouring in until the mercury (having aſcended through longitudinal grooves cut for this purpoſe through the threads of the ſcrew M, parallel to its axis) appears in the piece C at S; then turn the ſtop-cock C, and all communication with the external air is cut off.

The mercury now ſtands in the tube H at the level of S; continue to pour in at T as before, and the mercury will riſe in the tube of the barometer by the preſſure of the column in H, and at length compleatly fill it; when this is effected, turn the ſtop-cock F, and, inverting the barometer, pour back what little remains in the tube H, which piece you may then, if you think proper, unſcrew.

The inſtrument thus filled, if carried in an inverted ſituation, is ſo free from agitation, that a ſmart trot on horſeback will not cauſe it to play ſo as to be heard or felt againſt the end of the tube.

Every

Every part of the inſtrument is now ſuppoſed intirely filled for carriage; but when an obſervation is to be made, ſome of the mercury muſt be let out, that the remainder may deſcend to the ſtandard altitude; and for this purpoſe there is a hole at D, Pl. 1ſt, ſhut by the ſtop-cock E; turn this cock with the crank, and the mercury will run out until it comes to the original level; then, having turned the cock E back again, take out the pieces C and F, and regulate the gage by the plug A, as before, and the obſervation is compleated.

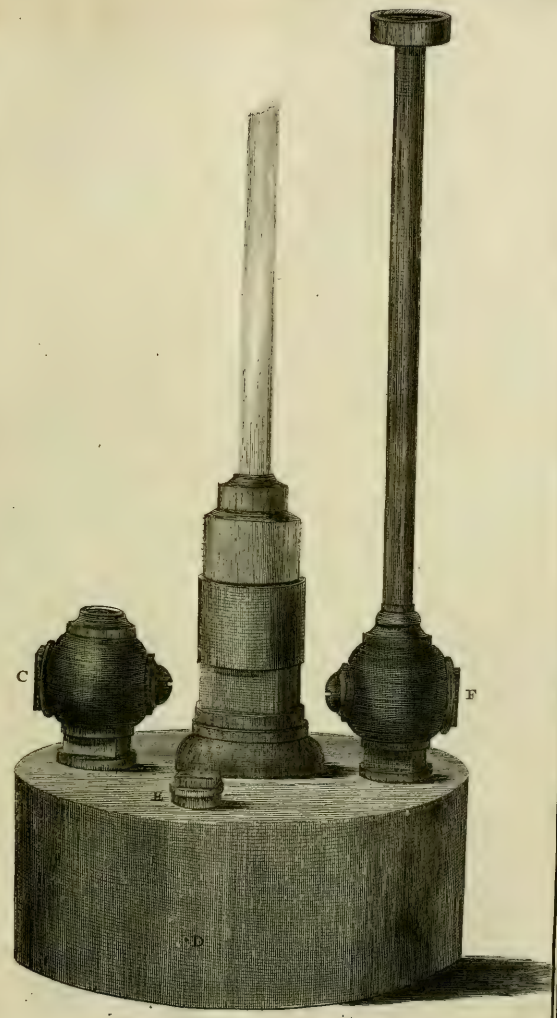
This barometer, like all others, ſhould be truly vertical at the time of obſervation, and as this inſtrument ſtands upright on a table reſting on its baſe, if to this three adjuſting ſcrews are attached, and a circular level on its upper ſurface, or croſs levels, the horizontal ſtate of the box is eaſily aſcertained; but if any ſuſpicion ariſe that the tube may not be at right-angles to the top of the box, then the inſtrument may be hung in the uſual manner in gimmals.

The ſtrongeſt objections that occur to me againſt the uſe of this barometer, are the trouble of carrying a ſmall phial of mercury, and the poſſibility of air mixing with the mercury each time it is poured out at the hole D, but the trouble is not worth mentioning; and as to the air, it may and ought to be expelled at every obſervation, by heating the mercury in a ladle or crucible, and the accuracy reſulting in very nice experiments will repay the trouble.

It is, perhaps, ſuperfluous to add, that theſe, like all good barometers, ſhould have the mercury boiled in the tubes.

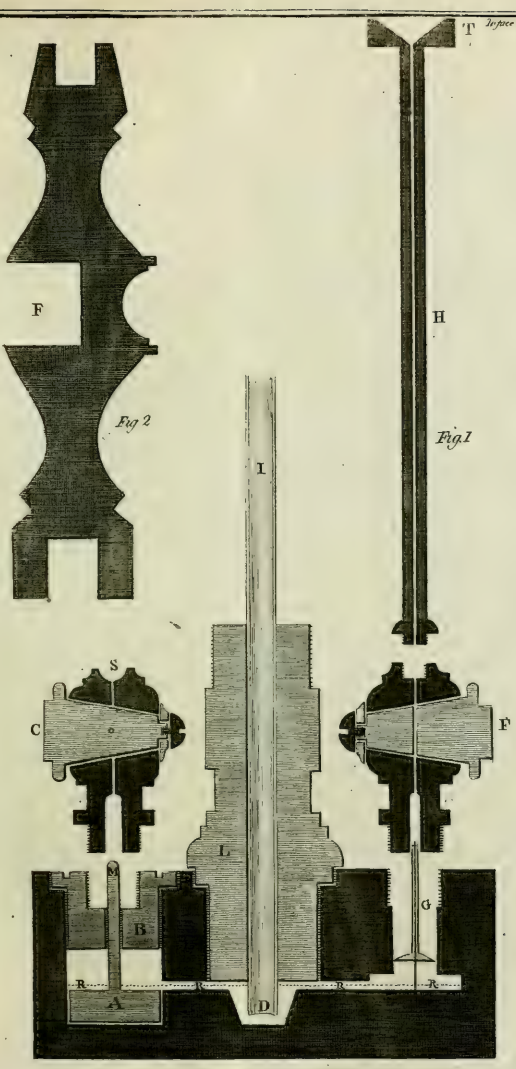
Plate I

To face Page 46



J. Ford Sculp.

Jepse Page 46 &c.



OBSERVATIONS *on* PEMPHIGUS, *by* STEPHEN DICKSON, *M. D. Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, and one of the King's Profeſſors of Phyſic in the City of Dublin, M. R. I. A. &c.*

Vera Experientia naſcitur e compluribus obſervationibus, magna diligentia, attentione & cura notatis, quæ integram morbi hiſtoriam, cum omnibus ad rem pertinentibus circumſtantiis complectuntur.

Hoffman.

PEMPHIGUS is a diſeaſe of very rare occurrence, and many phyſicians in extenſive practice have never met with an inſtance of it. However, ſix have fallen within my obſervation, three in Scotland, one in England, and two in this kingdom. I mention this circumſtance as an apology for writing on this ſubject: Had the ſame opportunities occurred to men of more enlarged experience, I ſhould have been ſilent. I am alſo aware that uncommon

Read May 1, 1786.

uncommon caſes are not the beſt ſubjects for medical inquiry; but they often ſerve to reflect light on thoſe which are more uſual; and beſides, whatever affects human nature muſt naturally conciliate our attention.

Our beſt Noſologiſt, Dr. Cullen, (to whom, by the by, no inſtance of this diſeaſe ever occurred) has claſſed Pemphigus in the order of Exanthemata. This claſſification will certainly appear ſufficiently proper to thoſe who grant this Noſologiſt the latitude he allows himſelf in the arrangement of his genera. When the plague and petechial fever are allowed to be claſſed under different heads, and the thruſh and ſcarlet fever under the ſame head, we need not contend about the place of Pemphigus, even though we ſhould find it not to be contagious, ſometimes commencing and continuing without fever, and affecting perſons more than once in the courſe of their lives. Dr. Cullen deſcribes this diſorder as follows: "A contagious "fever, veſicles about the ſize of an almond appearing on the "firſt, ſecond, or third day of the diſeaſe, remaining for many "days, and at length pouring out a thin ichor." I propoſe to amend his deſcription in the following manner: *A fever, accompanied with the ſucceſſive eruption from different parts of the body, internal as well as external, of veſicles about the ſize of an almond, which become turgid with a faintly yellowiſh ſerum, and in three or four days ſubſide.* I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that I am by no means convinced of this diſorder being contagious; that new veſicles ariſe, not only on the firſt, ſecond, or third, but on every day of the diſeaſe; that I have never known them remain for many days; that the fluid they contain does not appear in general to be an ichor or ſanies, but a bland, inodorous,

dorous, inſipid ſerum ; and that inſtead of being poured out, it is moſt commonly abſorbed into the ſyſtem.

No traces of this diſeaſe are diſcoverable in the writings either of the Greeks, Romans or Arabians.

Bontius, in his account of the medicine of the Egyptians, mentions the caſe of his friend Cavallerius, who was ſeized with the epidemic dyſentery that prevailed during the ſiege in Java, by Tommagon Bauraxa, in 1628. His diſorder was accompanied with the eruption of cuticular veſicles, which were filled with a greeniſh pus, that eroded the ſkin underneath, even to the fleſh. The patient died. It is evident that little can be concluded from this brief account.

Carolus Piso, in his 149th obſervation, accurately depicts the genuine pemphigus, as it appeared in the caſe of Egmont de Rinach, about 150 years ago at Nantz. He terms it hydatids, and ſays it occurred to him frequently. But I have reaſon to ſuſpect that he confounds under the ſame name the chicken pox, a ſlight diſorder, in which the ſkin is affected, not with ſpreading veſicles, but with ſmall puſtules. He ſeems alſo to confound with pemphigus ſome other erythematous affections ; for he ſays that theſe watery puſtules frequently precede the eruption of the itch ; that they ſometimes occur without fever, ſometimes accompany continued fever, and ſometimes appear in the beginning of intermittents. The truth is that Piſo, though an induſtrious obſerver and a candid man, was by no means an acute noſologiſt. His account, however, of the caſe of Egmont de Rinach deſerves attention, not only as being the firſt accurate and authentic de-

ſcription of this diſeaſe on record, but as pointing out a diverſity in the habit of body then accompanying this diſeaſe from what has been ſince met with; for though Piſo declares that the veſicles in this caſe ſupervened on a putrid ſynochus, yet he ſays that he let blood in the beginning with great advantage, and earneſtly recommends the ſame practice in ſimilar caſes. In every inſtance, however, that I have ſeen of this diſorder, ſuch a practice would have been plainly improper, if not pernicious.

The next author who mentions pemphigus is Morton. Speaking of the diſeaſes which prevailed in London between 1682 and 1692, he mentions, among other fevers of a malignant type, ſome in which watery veſicles were ſcattered over the head and cheſt. Theſe fevers however, he ſays, were merely ſporadic, and not propagated by contagion, as in the peſtilential conſtitution.

For the next *authentic* * account of pemphigus we are indebted to the obſervations of Sauvages. He firſt obſerved it in the hoſpital at Montpellier in 1725, in a ſoldier who fell a victim to it. Afterwards he ſaw five other caſes, chiefly of beggars, or other poor people, in all of which acute febrile ſymptoms were preſent. Twice, however, he ſaw it unattended with fever.

Lastly, Dr. Stewart, of Aberdeen (in a letter to Dr. Duncan, which is inſerted in the Medical Commentaries for 1778) mentions a caſe of pemphigus, which occurred to him in the hoſpital in that town. A ſoldier had been ordered to march ſoon after he

* See Culleni Noſol. tom. ii. c. xxxiv.

had

had been ſeized with the meaſles; the eruption was driven in by the cold, and in ten days afterwards the pemphigus appeared. The veſicles (the largeſt of which were ſnipped) poured out, at firſt, a ſemipellucid ſerum, but in the courſe of the diſeaſe diſcharged a bloody ichor. In this caſe the tendency to putrefaction was very ſtrong, but the patient recovered by the liberal adminiſtration of bark and wine. From this caſe I think we are juſtified in inferring that the nature of the fluid contained in the veſicles (however accurately it may be aſcertained to be a pure ſerum in the beginning) may be ſo altered in the courſe of the diſeaſe, by its own fermentation, or by admixture with other fluids of the body, from their veſſels being broken down, that it may at length ceaſe to be a diagnoſtic ſymptom of this diſorder.

But no author who has written on the ſubject of pemphigus has mentioned an extraordinary peculiarity of this diſorder, which I have obſerved in two inſtances; namely, that the veſicles have taken poſſeſſion of the internal parts of the body, and proceeded in ſucceſſion (ſome riſing while others decayed) from the mouth downwards through the whole ſurface of the alimentary canal.

The firſt caſe in which I had the opportunity of obſerving this ſingular and diſtreſſing ſymptom, was that of a woman under the care of Dr. Gregory, at the infirmary of Edinburgh, in 1783. This woman's menſes had been obſtructed for two years and an half. During that period ſhe had been thrice before attacked with the ſame diſorder, which had each time ſupervened upon a vomiting of blood. Her ſkin was generally cool; and her

pulſe (though weak) never much increaſed in frequency. Peruvian bark and wine were adminiſtered to her liberally. By theſe and other occaſional remedies ſhe recovered.

The other caſe, in which veſicles appeared to have been formed internally, occurred to me lately in this town. I ſhall relate the particulars of it, as I think it worthy of obſervation.

————, aged twenty-three, of a delicate form and ſanguine temperament, the wife of a man in tolerably good circumſtances, and who had been about a fortnight ill of a low fever, was ſeized (after having ſuffered much fatigue in attending her huſband) with pains in her back, head ach, and tendency to vomit.—As I was attending her huſband I ſaw the firſt approaches of her diſorder, and on the evening of the day ſhe was firſt attacked directed her to take an emetic, and to bathe her feet in warm water.

The next morning her ſkin was very hot; pulſe frequent; head-ach not better; ſhe had not ſlept, and complained of a ſore throat; on inſpection the uvula and tonſils appeared inflamed, and ſome mucus was collected in the back of the fauces; ſhe had had no ſtool for two days. I ordered a clyſter immediately; afterwards a gentle purgative; tincture of roſes for a gargle.—In the evening all the ſymptoms were milder. The phyſic had operated twice. I ordered the pediluvium to be repeated.

Third day. She complained of a ſmarting, itching, and (as ſhe expreſſed herſelf) tingling pain in her tongue, and through the whole inſide of her mouth. Her tongue was of a bright red colour

colour and dry, but clean. She was thirſty, but complained that her drink was unpalatable, though acidulated with lemon juice. She had no moiſture on her ſkin. Had gone to ſtool once. Slept tolerably well the night before. The febrile ſymptoms were mitigated, but the cynanche unabated. I ordered nothing but the ſaline julep.

Fourth Day. There appeared on her tongue a pellucid veſicle of about an inch long, and near half an inch broad, turgid with a faintly yellowiſh ſerous fluid. A ſmaller one of the ſame kind appeared on the inſide of the left cheek. The ſenſation which they occaſioned ſhe deſcribed as being ſimilar to that which ſhe had experienced before their eruption, but greater in degree, and ſomewhat as if they were full of ſcalding water. This day her ſkin was cooler, but her pulſe very weak, irregular and about ninety in a minute. She had had two looſe ſtools. I preſcribed half a drachm of the red Peruvian bark, very finely powdered, to be taken every two hours in a goblet of wine and water. Imperial for common drink. The tincture of roſes to be changed for an emollient gargle.

Fifth day. Three veſicles ſimilar to the former appeared on her cheſt and right arm. Other ſymptoms nearly as before. Pulſe not ſo feeble. Medicines were continued.

Sixth day. Her ſtomach rejected the bark. Two new veſicles appeared on her neck and cheek. Her breath was fœtid. She had had ſome low delirium in the night. Pulſe eighty-eight, and very weak. No ſenſe of taſte. I preſcribed a decoction of bark, one ounce, in which ſhould be diſſolved half a drachm of vegetable alkali,

alkali, to be taken every two hours; and immediately after each dose half an ounce of the same decoction mixed with six drachms of lemon juice. Cyder or porter for common drink.

Seventh Day. There was little change. The medicines were continued.

Eighth day. The vesicles on the inside of the mouth and on the tongue disappeared, and the cuticle which had been elevated was shrivelled and of a brownish colour. Deglutition was difficult, and, as she said, painful through the whole inside of her throat. Pulse eighty, and rather stronger. Bowels regular. Medicines were continued.

Ninth Day. The cuticle on the parts formerly occupied by vesicles in the inside of the cheek and on the tongue had cracked, and was peeling off: the parts underneath appeared raw and sore. Deglutition had now become so painful, that she refused medicine, food and even drink. She could not bear the slightest pressure on the neck. A new vesicle appeared under her right ear. Some purulent matter appeared on the back of the pharynx, the origin of which however was not discernible. Pulse eighty-six, and of nearly the same strength. I prescribed a clyster of warm water: After its operation another of new milk and decoction of bark, equal parts: the same to be repeated four hours afterwards. At night an anodyne clyster, with fifty drops of thebaic tincture. White liniment for the sores.

Tenth day. The vesicles on the chest and right arm had disappeared. The sores of the tongue and cheek were of a darker colour,

colour, and ſeemed to be healing. Some new veſicles appeared on the abdomen. Pulſe not ſo weak. She reſted well the former part of the preceding night, but was diſturbed by an accident, and afterwards was much inclined to rove in her diſcourſe 'till morning. Medicines were continued.

Eleventh day. The ſymptoms were nearly the ſame as the day before. The veſicles on the neck and cheek had diſappeared, and the cuticle in thoſe parts was ſhrivelled and cracked. The epigaſtric region was extremely ſore, and this ſoreneſs much increaſed by preſſure. The laſt clyſter of decoction of bark and milk adminiſtered the day before was not retained. I ordered ſalep to be ſubſtituted for milk: other medicines to be continued.

Twelfth day. She could ſwallow, though ſtill not without pain. I directed the medicines which had been preſcribed the fourth day to be repeated: the others to be omitted.

Thirteenth day. She vomitted ſome blood along with the firſt doſe of the bark. Pulſe eighty, and ſtronger. The veſicles under the ear and on the abdomen had diſappeared. Several ſmall veſicles (not above the ſize of a pea) aroſe on the hypogaſtric region of the abdomen, one on the labia pudendorum, and two on the left thigh. As ſhe had taken ſome bark which remained on her ſtomach, I directed this medicine to be continued, and an anodyne draught to be adminiſtered at night.

Fourteenth day. She had two looſe ſtools, much intermixed with blood, and complained of great ſoreneſs of her belly, increaſed by preſſure. I preſcribed a little caſtor oil. Other medicines as before, except the draught.

Fifteenth day. She had had two ſtools ſomewhat bloody the night before, and one almoſt natural in the morning. Pulſe ſeventy-ſeven, and of pretty good ſtrength. Skin quite cool. Spirits better. And ſome little appetite. Menſes had appeared in the morning. I directed the medicines to be continued as before.

From this time ſhe recovered apace, and in about a week had no complaint but weakneſs. Exerciſe, however, and the country air, ſoon completely re-eſtabliſhed her health.

After this full ſtatement of a caſe very diſtinctly marked, it would be ſuperfluous to add any thing by way of comment. I have only to obſerve, that whether this diſorder be contagious or not is a queſtion which may poſſibly ſtill admit of ſome doubt; though from what I have ſeen, or been able to collect, I am inclined to think that it is not. Almoſt all the inſtances of this diſorder which are preciſe or well atteſted I have enumerated; and they are all ſolitary examples, no two of them having happened at the ſame time or place. I ſuſpect, therefore, that ſome other diſorders have been oftentimes miſtaken for pemphigus; and that from thence, or from ſome preconceived theory, the notion has ariſen. When I was aſſiſtant to Dr. Home, in the clinical ward of the infirmary at Edinburgh, a patient was ſent

ſent to us by Dr. Gregory, whoſe caſe he " ſuppoſed * to be a be-
" ginning pemphigus," and which he ſaid " was plainly contagious."
In a note which he ſent with this woman, he ſays, " I ſaw a boy
" five months ago in the ſame cloſe, very ill of the ſame diſeaſe ;
" and I am told by the people that ſeveral others, chiefly children,
" have had the ſame diſeaſe ſince in the ſame cloſe." This ap-
peared extremely forcible, and accordingly had its due weight with
the ſtudents. But in a day or two it appeared very evidently,
that the diſeaſe of the woman whom Dr. Gregory had ſent us,
was merely topical. She had no fever. The veſicles (which
were ſituated under the eye and upon the eye-lid) were of a
pale red colour ; ſome puſtules filled with yellow matter ap-
peared upon the brow at the ſame time ; and both of theſe
vaniſhed almoſt immediately after ſhe came into the infirmary ;
ſo that ſhe left it in three or four days perfectly well, having
taken no medicine but the ſaline julep. This woman denied
to us that ſhe had ever ſeen any one affected with veſicles :
and upon enquiring more particularly among different people
in the ſame cloſe, I found that they were in general very
unqualified to give a diſtinct account of the epidemic diſeaſe
(whatever it was) with which the children had been affected :
they ſeemed, however, to think it neither novel nor alarm-
ing ; and by their deſcription I ſhould rather take it to have
been the chicken-pox, or ſome ſuch ſlight complaint, than the
pemphigus. I can have no doubt that the boy Dr. Gregory

* Though the diſorder of this patient appeared eventually to be of a different nature, yet it muſt be remembered that the approaches of moſt diſeaſes are ambiguous, and that this ſuppoſition by no means tends to impeach the judgment of a gentleman who is equally diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and veracity.

mentioned he had ſeen was really affected with pemphigus; but I think that the vague teſtimony of the ignorant, indiſcriminating people of the cloſe is to be allowed no weight in deciding this nice queſtion.

The nature of this diſorder, as to its mildneſs or malignity, appears to vary conſiderably. In ſome inſtances it is extremely mild, as in three of the caſes I have ſeen, one of them in this town with Dr. Fleury. In other inſtances life is in the greateſt danger; thus in ſeveral of the caſes I have enumerated ſtrong ſymptoms of putreſcency were manifeſted.

With reſpect to the method of cure of this diſorder, the general ſymptoms of weakneſs and tendency to putrefaction obviouſly point out the proper treatment. When the veſicles ſeize on the internal parts, irritation muſt be guarded againſt by opiates, demulcents and gentle laxatives; nouriſhment muſt be ſupplied; and the grand remedies, bark and wine (eſpecially the latter) muſt be ſeduloufly adminiſtered.

On the EXTRACTION *of the* CUBIC *and other* ROOTS.

By ——— ———.

Communicated by the Rev. M. YOUNG, *D. D.*

Read January 1, 1787.

WHEN the cubic root of any number is required true to many places of decimals, let the given number be reſolved into a binomial, making the firſt term a cubic number, and the ſum or difference of the terms equal to the given number. Let both terms be then divided by the firſt, which makes the firſt term 1, and the ſecond a fraction; and let the cubic root of this reſulting binomial be reſolved into an infinite ſeries by the binomial theorem; and let as many terms of it be calculated, as give it true to two or three more than the required number of places; and laſtly, let this root be multiplied into the cubic root of the term which was made the diviſor above, and this gives the number required.

 THUS:

Thus:—Let it be required to find the cubic root of 28, true to ten places of decimals. Firſt make $28=27+1$, and then dividing by 27, a new binomial $1+\frac{1}{27}$ is had, whoſe cubic root is to be reſolved into an infinite ſeries. Now any power of it whatever may be found by the following ſeries,

$$1.\ \frac{m}{1.27}\cdot\frac{m-1}{2.27}\cdot\frac{m-2}{3.27}\cdot\frac{m-3}{4.27}\cdot\frac{m-4}{5.27}\cdot\frac{m-5}{6.27},\ \&c.$$

where m is the index of the power. In the preſent caſe $m=\frac{1}{3}$, and then the above ſeries reduced into numbers will ſtand thus:

$$1.\ \frac{+1}{3.27}\cdot\frac{-1}{3.27}\cdot\frac{-5}{9.27}\cdot\frac{-2}{3.27}\cdot\frac{-11}{15.27}\cdot\frac{-7}{9.27}\cdot\frac{-17}{21.27},\ \&c.$$

And it is plain that of the terms of the infinite ſeries, the firſt and ſecond will be affirmative, the third negative, and the following ones alternately affirmative and negative: and the work of calculating the terms will ſtand thus:

	+1,000 000	1ſt term.
This multiplied by $\frac{+1}{3.27}$, gives	+0,012 345 679 0123.	2d term.
Which multiplied by $\frac{-1}{3.27}$, gives	—,000 152 415 7902.	3d term.
And 3d term multiplied by $\frac{-5}{9.27}$, gives -	+3 136 1273.	4th term.
And 4th term multiplied by $\frac{-2}{3.27}$, gives - -	—77 4352.	5th term.
5th term multiplied by $\frac{-11}{15.27}$, gives - -	+2 1031.	6th term.
6th term multiplied by $\frac{-7}{9.27}$, gives - - -	—605.	7th term.
And 7th term multiplied by $\frac{-17}{21.17}$, gives - - -	+18.	8th term.

Having

HAVING calculated the above eight terms, and ſeeing that the whole value of a ninth term would not amount to unity in the laſt place of decimals, that and all the following terms may be neglected; and the ſum of theſe eight, added together according to their ſigns, as follows, is the cubic root of the binomial $1+\frac{1}{27}$:

1ſt term - - - -	+1,000 000 000 0000
2d term - - - -	+0,012 345 679 0123
4th term - - - -	+3 136 1273
6th term - - - -	+2 1031
8th term - - - -	+18
Sum of affirmative terms -	+1,012 348 817 2445
3d term - - - -	—152 415 7902
5th term - - - -	—77 4352
7th term - - - -	—605
Sum of negative terms -	—152 493 2859
Cubic root of $1+\frac{1}{27}$ - -	1,012 196 323 9586

AND ſince $27+1$ $(=28) : 1+\frac{1}{27} :: 27 : 1$; $\sqrt[3]{28} : \sqrt[3]{1+\frac{1}{27}}$ $:: 3 : 1$. If therefore the cubic root of $1+\frac{1}{27}$ be multiplied into

into 3, the product will be the cubic root of 28, which is therefore 3,036588971875 8.

But ſince each of theſe eight terms calculated above is imperfect, being leſs than the truth, the ſum of them may be different from the truth. Two or three of the laſt figures muſt be omitted, and then we can be ſure that the reſt are true*.

If

* What figures are to be omitted, in order that the remaining decimal may be true, is to be determined by finding out the greater and leſs limits of the decimal, and as far as theſe agree, ſo far we may be certain that the decimal is accurate. Now as a decimal firſt ariſes, it is leſs than the truth, becauſe certain figures are omitted; this therefore we may conſider as the leſs limit; and if to the laſt figure we add an unit, we ſhall have the greater limit. But in the addition, multiplication, ſubtraction and diviſion of decimals, the limits of the ſum, product, difference, and quotient may be determined by the following rules:

1. In addition, the limits of the ſum are had by adding together the greater limits of the quantities to be added, for the greater limit of the ſum; and the leſs limits together for the leſs limit of the ſum.

Thus, if the greater and leſs limits of one of the quantities be 123,5 and 123,2; and the greater and leſs limits of the other be 43,2 and 43,1; then will 166,7 and 166,3 be the greater and leſs limits of the ſum.

2. In multiplication, the limits of the product are had by multiplying together the greater limits of the factors, for the greater limit of the product; and the leſs limits together, for the leſs limit of the product.

Thus, if the limits of one quantity be 10,502 and 10,5, and the limits of the other be 3,216 and 3,215; then the limits of the product will be 33,774432 and 33,7575.

3. In ſubtraction, the greater limit of the leſs quantity is to be ſubtracted from the leſs limit of the greater, for the leſs limit of the difference; and the leſs limit of the leſs from the greater limit of the greater, for the greater limit of the difference.

Thus,

If the given number had been 26, it muſt then have been reſolved into 27—1, and dividing by 27, the new binomial would have been $1-\frac{1}{27}$, and the terms of the ſeries $1.\frac{m}{3.27}.\frac{m-1}{3.27}$, &c. when reduced to numbers would have been $1.\frac{-1}{3.27}.\frac{+1}{3.27}.\frac{+5}{9.27}.\frac{+2}{3.27}.\frac{+11}{15.27}.\frac{+7}{9.27}.\frac{+17}{21.27}$, &c. And of the terms of the infinite ſeries reſulting, the firſt would have been affirmative, and all the reſt negative, which is always the caſe when the ſecond term of the binomial is negative, as in the following example:

Thus, if the limits of the greater quantity be 166,7 and 166,3, and the limits of the leſs quantity be 43,2 and 43,1, then will 123,6 and 123,1 be the limits of their difference.

4. In diviſion, the greater limit of the dividend is to be divided by the leſs limit of the diviſor, for the greater limit of the quotient; and the leſs limit of the dividend by the greater limit of the diviſor, for the leſs limit of the quotient.

Thus, if the limits of the dividend be 33,774432 and 33,7575, and the limits of the diviſor be 3,216 and 3,215, then will 10,506 and 10,496 be the limits of the quotient.

Vide Mirifici Logarith. Canonis Conſtructio. Edinburg 1619; *vel Lugduni* 1620.

In the example given above 1,0123488172445 is the leſs limit of the ſum of the affirmative terms, and 1,0123488172449 the greater limit. In like manner, ,0001524932859 is the leſs limit of the ſum of the negative terms, and ,0001524932862 the greater limit; therefore according to rule 3. 1,0121963239583, and 1,0121963239590, are the leſs and greater limits of the ſum of all theſe terms added together according to their ſigns. And conſequently 3,0365889718749 and 3,0365889718770 are the leſs and greater limits of the cubic root of the number 28.

of

Let it be required to find the cubic root of 210, true to twelve places of decimals. The neareſt cube number to 210 is 216, the cube of 6. Therefore making the binomial 216—6, and dividing by 216, the new binomial is $1-\frac{6}{216}=1-\frac{1}{36}$, and the ſeries which yields any power of it, is $1.\ \frac{m.-1}{1\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{m-1.-1}{2\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{m-2.-1}{3\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{m-3.-1}{4\cdot 36}$, &c. Which reduced to numbers is

$$\text{L.}\ \frac{-1}{3\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+1}{3\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+5}{9\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+1}{9\cdot 6}\cdot\frac{+11}{15\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+7}{9\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+17}{21\cdot 36}\cdot\frac{+5}{6\cdot 36},\ \text{&c.}$$

and the calculation ſtands thus:

	1,000 000 000 000 000. 1ſt term.
1ſt term multiplied by $\frac{-1}{3\cdot 36}$ -	—9 259 259 259 259. 2d term.
2d term multiplied by $\frac{+1}{3\cdot 36}$ -	- —85 733 882 030. 3d term.
3d term multiplied by $\frac{+5}{9\cdot 36}$ -	- —1 323 053 735. 4th term.
4th term multiplied by $\frac{+1}{6\cdot 9}$ -	- —24 500 995. 5th term.
5th term multiplied by $\frac{+11}{15\cdot 36}$ -	- - —499 094. 6th term.
6th term multiplied by $\frac{+7}{9\cdot 36}$ -	- - —10 782. 7th term.
7th term multiplied by $\frac{+17}{21\cdot 36}$ -	- - —242. 8th term.
8th term multiplied by $\frac{+5}{6\cdot 36}$ -	- - - —5. 9th term.
Sum of the negative terms -	—0,009 346 341 206 142
Sum of all the terms, added according to their ſigns	+0,990 653 658 793 858
The ſum of all the terms multiplied by 6	5,943 921 952 763 148

Having

HAVING found theſe nine terms, and neglecting all the reſt for the reaſon given above, let them be added according to their ſigns, and their ſum is the cubic root of the binomial $1-\frac{1}{36}$. And ſince $216-6\ (=210) : 1-\frac{1}{36} :: 216 : 1$, it will be $\sqrt[3]{210} : \sqrt[3]{1-\frac{1}{36}} :: 6 : 1$. Therefore let the cubic root of $1-\frac{1}{36}$, found above, be multiplied into 6, and the number reſulting, which (neglecting the three laſt figures *) is 5,943921952763, is the cubic root of 210, true to twelve places of decimals, as was required.

THE given numbers in theſe two examples, were purpoſely choſen ſuch as ſhould make the operation eaſy. But in other examples, the difference between the given number and the cube number next greater or next leſs, may be ſo great in proportion to that cube, as to make the fraction, (the ſecond member of the binomial,) too large: In theſe caſes the ſeries will converge ſo ſlowly, that the labour will be almoſt intolerable. Thus, if the given number were 13, it muſt be made equal either to 8+5, or to 27—14, and the binomial will be either $1+\frac{5}{8}$, or $1-\frac{14}{27}$. If the given number be 3, the binomial will be $1-\frac{5}{8}$; and if the given number be 2, the binomial will be $1-\frac{3}{4}$. In all theſe caſes, and ſuch like, the ſeries

* As before, the numbers 0,009346341206142 and 0,009346341206150 are the leſs and greater limits of the ſum of the negative terms; and the numbers 0,990653658793858 and 0,990653658793850 are the greater and leſs limits of the ſum of all the terms added together according to their ſigns. Conſequently 5,943921952763148 and 5,943921952763100 are the greater and leſs limits of the cubic root of the number 210, which agree even to thirteen places of decimals; and therefore the root itſelf is ſo far accurately calculated.

will converge ſo ſlowly, that a very great number of terms muſt be calculated, and therefore the labour will be immenſe. This, however, is an inconvenience that may be remedied; for inſtead of reſolving the given number into a binomial, let it be multiplied into ſome cube number, ſo as that the product may be nearly equal to ſome other cube number; and let this product be reſolved into a binomial, and its root found; which being multiplied into the cubic root of the diviſor, as above, and divided by the cubic root of the number into which the given number was multiplied, the quotient is the root required.

Thus if the cubic root of 2 be required, it might be reſolved into 8—6, and dividing by 8 it would become $1-\frac{3}{4}$. But this is to be rejected for the reaſon given above. Multiplying therefore 2 into 8, the product 16 gives the binomial $1-\frac{11}{27}$. But here alſo the fraction $\frac{11}{27}$, (though leſs than the former,) is too great. Multiplying then 2 into 27, the next cube number, the product 54 gives the binomial $1-\frac{10}{64}$, where the fraction is ſtill leſs, and might be uſed, only that on multiplying 2 into 64, the next cube number, the product 128 gives the binomial $1+\frac{3}{125}$, which is as convenient as can be deſired.

Find therefore its cubic root, by the method above, and multiply it into 5, (the cubic root of the denominator of the fraction,) and the product is the root of 128: And this root being divided by 4, (the cubic root of the multiplier 64,) the quotient is the cubic root of 2, as was deſired.

That

THAT this method may always be uſed when there is occaſion, it is neceſſary to ſolve the following

PROBLEM.

A NUMBER, not a cube number, being given, it is required to find a cube number, which multiplied into the given number, ſhall give a product nearly equal to ſome other cube number.

SUPPOSE n a given number, not a cube, it is required to find two other numbers, a the greater, and b the leſs, ſo as that a^3 ſhall be nearly equal to nb^3, or that the fraction $\frac{a^3-nb^3}{a^3}$, or $\frac{nb^3-a^3}{a^3}$ ſhall be very ſmall.

WHEN the given number is ſmall, the numbers a and b may be found by a few and eaſy trials; but if it be great, the ſolution by trials is very difficult. But a general and direct ſolution of it was ſuggeſted by the ſolution of a problem, nearly of the ſame nature, by Doctor Wallis, and publiſhed by him in the *Commercium Epiſtolicum*, at the end of the ſecond volume of his works. An example will ſufficiently ſhew the method uſed in the ſolution.

LET the given number be 13; and a^3 will be nearly equal to $13b^3$. Call the difference y, and we ſhall have this equation, $a^3=13b^3\pm y$. We are next to find the limits of a with reſpect to b; that is, to find the multiples of b which are next leſs and next greater than a. And ſince the cubic root of

13 is between 2 and 3, $2b$ and $3b$ are the limits, of which $2b$ is nearer to a; and being leſs than a, make $a=2b+c$, and by ſubſtituting we have this equation:

$$8b^3+12b^2c+6bc^2+c^3=13b^3\pm y;$$

which by reduction becomes

$$5b^3=12b^2c+6bc^2+c^3\mp y. \quad \textit{First anſwer.}$$

In this equation alſo we are to determine the limits of b the greater quantity with reſpect to c the leſs; which may be done by ſubſtituting ſome multiple of c for b: and according as the left ſide of the reſulting equation is leſs or greater than the right ſide, that multiple is leſs or greater than the truth. And to avoid unneceſſary trials, let the coefficient of the firſt term on the right ſide of the equation, be divided by the coefficient of the term that ſtands on the left ſide; and the quotient, (neglecting the fraction,) multiplied into the leſs quantity, will be one of the limits, or near it. And when all the terms on the right ſide have affirmative ſigns, the limit thus found will be leſs than the truth; but when ſome of them have negative ſigns, it will probably be greater than the truth. Thus, in the laſt equation above, divide 12 by 5, and the quotient being 2, make $b=2c$, and upon trying it will be found, that $2c$ is leſs than the truth; therefore make $b=3c$, and upon trial $3c$ will be found greater than the truth. Therefore $2c$ and $3c$ are the limits of b, of which $3c$ ſeems nearer to the truth; therefore make $b=3c-d$, and by ſubſtituting, this equation reſults,

$$135c^3-135c^2d+45cd^2-5d^3=108c^3-72c^2d+12cd^2+18c^3-6c^2d+c^3\mp y;$$

and by reduction,

$$8c^3=57c^2d-33cd^2+5d^3\mp y. \quad \textit{Second anſwer.}$$

Here

HERE alſo, as before, we are to find the limits of c the greater quantity with reſpect to d the leſs; and they appear to be $6d$ and $7d$; of which $6d$ ſeems the more convenient. Making therefore $c=6d+e$, there reſults this equation,

$$1728d^3+864d^2e+144de^2+8e^3=2052d^3+684d^2e+57de^2-198d^3-33d^2e+5d^3\mp y;$$

which by reduction becomes

$$131d^3=213d^2e+87de^2+8e^3\mp y. \quad \textit{Third anſwer.}$$

HERE alſo the limits of d being found to be e and $2e$; and $2e$ being nearer the truth, make $d=2e-f$, and this equation reſults,

$$1048e^3-1572e^2f+786ef^2-131f^3=852e^3-852e^2f+213ef^2+174e^3-87e^2f+8e^3\mp y;$$

which by reduction becomes

$$14e^3=633e^2f-573ef^2+131f^3\mp y. \quad \textit{Fourth anſwer.}$$

HERE the limits of e are $44f$ and $45f$. Therefore making $e=44f+g$, this equation reſults,

$$\begin{aligned}1192576f^3+81312fg+1848fg^2+14g^3=1225488f^3+55704f^2g+633fg^2\pm y\\ -25212f^3-573f^2g\\ +131f^3\end{aligned}$$

which by reduction becomes

$$7831f^3=26181f^2g+1215fg^2+14g^3\mp y. \quad \textit{Fifth anſwer.}$$

AND the limits of f being $3g$ and $4g$, make $f=3g+h$, and this equation reſults,

$$\begin{aligned}211437g^3+211437g^2h+70479gh^2+7831h^3=235629g^3+157086g^2h+26181gh^2\mp y\\ +3645g^3+1215g^2h\\ +14g^3\end{aligned}$$

and by reduction

$$27851g^3=53136g^2h+44298gh^2+7831h^3\mp y. \quad \textit{Sixth anſwer.}$$

IN

In the ſame manner, may be found as many anſwers as any one ſhall pleaſe, and in every ſucceeding anſwer the denominator of the fraction, (the ſecond member of the binomial,) becomes greater; but the fraction itſelf, (which is ultimately ſought by this inveſtigation,) becomes leſs. Now by the help of any of the above equations marked *firſt*, *ſecond*, *third*, &c. *anſwers*, may the values of a and b be found. Thus, in any of thoſe equations make the leſs quantity $=0$ and the greater $=1$, and from theſe, by going backward, may ſucceſſively be found the values of all the letters that had been thrown off by the ſeveral ſubſtitutions, until we come to b and a; and the value of y will be the coefficient of the term on the left ſide of that equation, where the greater and leſs quantities were made $=1$ and 0. Thus, in the fourth anſwer, if we make $f=0$ and $e=1$, then will

$$d=(2e-f=)\ 2$$
$$c=(6d+e=)\ 13$$
$$b=(3c-d=)\ 37$$
$$a=(2b+c=)\ 87$$

Now the cube of 37 is 50653, which multiplied by 13 gives 658489, and the cube of 87 is 658503; and the difference is 14, the coefficient of the term on the left ſide of that equation: and when the ſign of y is $\pm$, as in the firſt equation, a^3 will be greater than the multiple of b^3, and therefore in the binomial, the ſign of the fractional part will be negative: But when the ſign of y is $\mp$, a^3 will be leſs, and the fractional part of the binomial will have a poſitive ſign.

In the following table are put down the values of b, a, and y, according to each of the ſix anſwers inveſtigated above; and annexed are the binomials reſulting from theſe anſwers: any one of whoſe roots, being reſolved into an infinite ſeries, will ſerve for finding the cubic root of 13.

	Value of b.	Value of a.	Value of y.	The reſulting binomial, whoſe root is to be reſolved into an infinite ſeries.
By 1ſt anſwer	1	2	5	$1+\frac{5}{8}$
2d	3	7	8	$1+\frac{8}{343}$
3d	17	40	131	$1-\frac{131}{64000}$
4th	37	87	14	$1-\frac{14}{658503}$
5th	1611	3788	7831	$1+\frac{7831}{54353799872}$
6th	4870	11451	27851	$1-\frac{27851}{150151696685 1}$

If any one ſhall ever uſe this method of extracting the cubic root, it muſt be left to his judgment, to determine how far this inveſtigation is to be continued. On the one hand the fraction, (the ſecond member of the binomial to be evolved,) becomes leſs, and therefore the ſeries will converge the faſter. But, on the other hand, the trouble of continuing the inveſtigation, when the numbers become large, and of dividing by a large diviſor afterwards,

afterwards, is much increaſed. Indeed when the given number conſiſts of many places of figures, the labour of dividing by a large diviſor cannot be avoided. But the trouble of inveſtigation may be ſaved, as the cube number next greater or next leſs than the given number, may be made the firſt member of the binomial, into which the given number is reſolved.

If the given number be a decimal fraction, or an integer with a decimal annexed, it will be convenient to reduce it to an integral number, by removing the *nota ſeparatrix* to the right hand over a number of places which muſt always be diviſible by 3: (one or two cyphers being added after the ſignicant figures, when neceſſary, to make the number of decimal places a multiple of 3:) And when the root of the integral number is found, as many of its integral figures are now to be added to the decimals, as there were ternaries of decimal figures, before added to the integers.

If the given number be a vulgar fraction, (either proper or improper,) let the ſquare of the denominator be multiplied by the numerator, and the cubic root of the product be found as above; and let the given denominator be ſubſcribed under this root, if a vulgar fraction be ſufficient: Or let this root be divided by it, if a decimal fraction be neceſſary.

By a like proceſs *(mutatis mutandis)* any root may be extracted out of a given number: but when the index of the root is any term of the duple progreſſion, beginning from unity, the operation, as is well known, may be otherwiſe performed in a more ſimple manner.

The Hiſtory of an OVARIUM, *wherein were found* TEETH, HAIR *and* BONES. *By* JAMES CLEGHORN, *M. B. Communicated by* ROBERT PERCEVAL, *M. D.*

GENERATION is a ſubject ſo myſterious in itſelf, and from the nature of things ſo wrapt up in obſcurity, that any fact which may ſerve to throw light on this operation, by which the creation is continued, becomes invaluable to ſcience. The greateſt philoſophers, of antient and of modern days, have ſpent much labour, and much induſtry, in order to diſcover the means by which nature has ordained the various tribes of animals to continue their ſpecies. But it is to be lamented that their obſervations have tended rather to ſhew the brilliancy of their imagination, than to elucidate the ſubject which they treated; and inſtead of leſſening the number of difficulties which we had to encounter, they have only drawn off the attention of the world from facts, and miſled mankind by the ſplendour of their fanciful hypotheſes. It is by a careful collection of facts only, and a fair induction from thoſe facts when eſtabliſhed, that we can ever arrive at knowledge on this ſubject. At preſent it is my object to ſubmit a caſe to the conſideration of the Academy, which

Read May 28, 1787.

as it may ſerve to eſtabliſh a fact of much importance in the ſubject of generation, may be well worthy the attention of the *Royal Iriſh Academy.*

THERE is no appearance which has hitherto thrown ſo much light upon the ſubject of generation as the formation and growth of fœtuſes without the womb. Of extrauterine fœtuſes none are ſo deſerving of particular notice as theſe which have been formed in the ovarium, both on account of their rarity, and becauſe a celebrated naturaliſt (who may be juſtly ſtiled the modern Pliny) confeſſes, that it is difficult, and I believe he might have added *impoſſible*, according to his theory, to account for their formation in the female teſticle.

HIS words are as follow: "On concoit tres-aisèment par "ce que nous venons de dire, comment il ſe peut qu'il s'en "forme quelque fois dans les trompes; mais a l'egard des teſti- "cules, l'operation me paroit beaucoup plus difficile," &c. &c.

AGAIN, Monſieur le Comte de Buffon, finding it ſo difficult to account for the formation of a fœtus in the ovarium, like a true theoriſt, ſeems to reject the fact altogether, and thinks his countryman, Monſieur Littre, ought not to be credited, when he aſſerts that an embryo was found in the ovarium of a woman he opened. The expreſſion uſed by our author is, "l'obſerva- "tion de Monſieur Littre a paru fort ſuſpecte." Why Monſieur de Buffon has not taken notice of many other inſtances where it would appear from bones, teeth and hair being found in the ovarium, that conception had taken place there, I cannot ſay, unleſs

unleſs that he could not explain how they grew, according to his own theory, and therefore he rejects the fact altogether, thinking it of more conſequence to eſtabliſh his own theory than to propagate the knowledge of truth.

Notwithstanding the high authority of the Count de Buffon, I hope, by the inſtances I ſhall adduce from the obſervations of others, and by a particular caſe which I ſhall relate, to eſtabliſh this fact beyond the poſſibility of doubt, and at the ſame time to vindicate the teſtimony of ſo celebrated an anatomiſt as Mr. Littre, by wiping off the aſperſion thrown on his veracity, from an injudicious zeal to ſupport a particular theory. Inſtances of fœtuſes growing in different parts of the cavity of the abdomen are almoſt innumerable, but it is by no means ſo common an occurrence to meet with an embryo in the ovarium, although, from many caſes on record, it appears highly probable that they may have been formed there; ſince we find bones, teeth, hair, and other appearances, which would ſeem to point out the pre-exiſtence of a fœtus in that organ.

The caſe of which I mean to give ſome account is a very ſtriking example of this kind, and affords ſeveral particulars equally curious and intereſting; but previous to any hiſtory of this caſe, which has come under my own inſpection, I ſhall take the liberty of ſtating, in as few words as poſſible, the moſt remarkable inſtances of the ſame ſort which have been related by ſuch authors as I have had an opportunity of examining.

The firſt which I have found on record is one related in the Hiſtory of the ancient Academy of Sciences, (Tom. ii. page 91)

by Monſieur Theroude, a ſurgeon in Paris. This gentleman ſhewed to the academy an irregular maſs, which he took from the right ovarium of a young woman aged eighteen years; in this were found ſubſtances reſembling the eye-lids, with hairs in them ſimilar to thoſe of the eye-laſhes and brows. He demonſtrated alſo two bundles of hair, of which one was ſeven, the other three inches in length; near this were two dentes molares, hard, large and white, incloſed in an alveolar proceſs, with a fleſhy ſubſtance like the gums ſurrounding them; they were not above three lines in length. Beſides theſe there were alſo found, in this inſtance, two other teeth, which we are told reſembled the canini.

Monsieur Mery diſcovered in an ovarium a bone reſembling the os maxillare ſuperius, with ſeveral teeth in it, ſo perfectly formed that they appeared to have belonged to a child ten years old. Of this caſe, we read in the ſame volume of the old academy, as has been cited in the laſt.

In the Journal de Medicine (for January 1683) the Abbé de la Rocque tells us of a woman who had brought forth eight children, but died great of the ninth, which had grown in the ovarium.

Monsieur de St. Maurice has related the hiſtory of a *fœtus*, which he ſays was found in an ovarium; it was about the thickneſs of a thumb, and its ſex was deſtinguiſhable.

Monsieur Littre, in the Royal Academy of Sciences for the year 1701, has given the hiſtory, already alluded to, of an ovarium which contained an embryo.

Ruysch,

Ruysch, in the third decade of Adverſaria Anatomica, mentions his having found hair, bones, &c. in the ovarium; and in the ſecond table annexed to that decade he has delineated (figure 4 and 5) a tooth which is a molaris that had grown in it.

The ſame celebrated anatomiſt (Theſaurus Anatomicus primus, No. 17) gives the following ſhort hiſtory of a woman's caſe, in which it afterwards appeared that there were teeth contained in the left ovarium, "Quatuor quinqueve abhinc annis, (ſays Ruyſch) "mulier quædam viginti et quatuor circiter annos nata, tempe-"ramenti phlegmatici, morbo graviore implicita, ſæpiſſime con-"queſta erat, de dolore in Hypogaſtrio, non ſine præcordiorum "anxietate, et febri continua; tandem fato conceſſit, unde nobis "cadaver aperiendi nata occaſio." He afterwards proceeds to tell us that his ſon opened the body, and that they diſcovered a *cluſter* of teeth which lay in the ovarium, incloſed in a membrane. [Theſe teeth are delineated in Tab. 3, fig. 1, of the Theſaurus above quoted.]

One of the moſt extraordinary inſtances of this kind is that related by Monſieur le Riche, in the French Memoirs for the year 1743. In this caſe there appeared upon diſſection a large ſac occupying the left hypochondrium, and attached to the uterus, bladder and colon. This ſac contained a yellowiſh ſerum like thickened or congealed oil, and a lump of hair the ſize of a lemon; the hairs were matted together by the oil, and about the length of a finger. About the bottom of the tumour there were ſeveral cells filled with a kind of tallow, and in the middle a bone of a very irregular figure, at the end of which were three teeth

teeth incaſed in an alveolar proceſs: having diſſected the whole of this ſac with care, le Riche found it to be the left ovarium; the right one alſo contained ſimilar oily matter, and a bone in its middle.

In the memoirs of the French Academy (1756) an hiſtory is given of a fœtus found in an ovarium. A young woman died after having had very violent pains in the left flank; ſhe was opened, and little was at firſt taken notice of but a ſlight *inflammation* of the viſcera. But what afterwards drew particular attention was the left ovarium: It was about the ſize and ſhape of an egg, and the tube of that ſide made a ſlight turn from below upwards, and from without inwards. Its fimbriæ were ſtretched and applied to the external ſurface of the ovarium, with which it had contracted an adheſion: When it was opened there came out about one ounce of a ſerous fluid reſembling whey. In this they found a fœtus a little ſhrivelled, with a placenta and an umbilical chord diſtinctly formed, being one inch and a half in length. The fœtus was two inches in length from the top of the head to the knees. The reſt of the inferior extremities was withered, and only three lines in length. The membrane which formed the tumour was about one line and a half in thickneſs. The uterus was in the natural ſtate, as well as the ovarium of the oppoſite ſide.

This obſervation was made by a Monſieur Varocquier, demonſtrator in anatomy at Liſle, and is quoted by Sabatier traité d'anatomie, vol. ii. page 414. It is a remark made by Varocquier, and well worthy of attention, that this woman had an entire hymen.

A very

A VERY intereſting and particular account is given of bones, &c. being ſeen in an ovarium by Dr. George Young, in the Edinburgh Eſſays, vol. ii. page 273. A woman aged fifty, who never had had a child, being obſtructed for four months, thought ſhe had conceived, but her menſes returned, and ſhe was troubled with a flooding more or leſs copious for above a year and a half. This complaint was at laſt put a ſtop to by the powers of medicine, but it gave riſe to a number of other ſymptoms which occaſioned her death. On opening her abdomen after death, a quantity of bloody water flowed out, the cavity being filled with a fluid of this deſcription, and all its veſſels very turgid. No bowel was at firſt view to be ſeen, all that appeared being a great number of irregular fleſhy lumps full of a red watery liquor, ſome as large as apples, others about the bigneſs of pigeons' eggs, and of all intermediate ſizes. Upon examination they found all theſe veſicles were contained in one ſac, of which the forepart had been cut with the integuments of the abdomen. It was not 'till after they had raiſed this large cyſt that the other viſcera came into view. The left fallopian tube was very large, and no ovarium was diſcoverable on that ſide, unleſs this great tumour was the ovarium enlarged to ſo great a ſize. The right one was about the bigneſs of a new-born child's head. It contained viſcid white matter like maſhed brains, which ran together as ſuet does when put into water. In this were found three grinders, incaſed in their alveolar proceſs, and an inciſor, which may be ſeen delineated in the Medical Eſſays.

MONSIEUR BAUDELOCQUE, an Accoucheur at Paris, who has not long ſince publiſhed a Treatiſe on Midwifery, likewiſe relates a caſe

caſe where there were teeth, bones and hair found in the ovary. The tumour formed by it in this inſtance was ſix or ſeven fingers' breadth in length, and in thickneſs ſomething about an inch and a half. There was in the middle, ſays our author, a bony rock (roche oſſeuſe) in which were ſet nine ſolid teeth, which could be eaſily diſtinguiſhed into the different ſpecies, viz. inciſivi, canini, and molares. The reſt of the tumour was of a ſteatomatous nature, and contained a great deal of hair matted together by the matter which formed the contents of the ſac.

One of the moſt extraordinary caſes of bones, teeth and ſuch like ſubſtances having grown in the ovarium, is that of which I am now to give ſome account. I am ſorry that any thing I can ſay with regard to the ſtate of the woman who is the ſubject of this caſe muſt be imperfect, as it is given from report, and is not immediately within my own knowledge. Nevertheleſs, as the particulars which we do know are very well authenticated, and from their nature intereſting, I flatter myſelf, therefore, that a detail of thoſe, and a deſcription of the parts concerned, now in my poſſeſſion, will be deemed not altogether unworthy of the public attention.

About three years ago a woman, aged 50, died ten days after ſhe had been tapped for a tumour, which had appeared to be a dropſical collection in ſome part of the abdomen. This had been a tall well-made woman, and ſhe had borne a child about twenty-five years previous to this period. She continued in good health for ſeveral months after delivery, and nurſed a child, which was

ſeized

ſeized after ſome time with very violent and frequent convulſion fits; nevertheleſs, after a while it recovered perfectly, ſo as to be quite healthy. The nurſe, however, was obſerved to decline in her health from this period, and ſhe continued weak and ſickly for a year or more, but at laſt regained her uſual good ſtate of health in every circumſtance, but that her menſes never after appeared, and her belly encreaſed in its ſize as if ſhe was great with child. Notwithſtanding this appearance of pregnancy ſhe was known to walk lightly, to labour hard, and her legs were never obſerved to be œdematous. She appeared in perfect health, and never once complained of any uneaſineſs, except the inconvenience of carrying ſo large a belly. She remained in this ſtate for upwards of twenty-three years, to the time of her being tapped, as above-mentioned. Upon withdrawing the canula a conſiderable quantity of viſcid matter flowed out, mixed with hair and bits of fat. Ten days after having undergone the operation the woman died, and upon opening the abdomen the firſt thing preſented to view, under the peritoneum, was a large ſeemingly muſcular ſac, which extended acroſs the abdomen, upon opening which it was found to contain balls of a fatty ſubſtance mixed with hair, and likewiſe ſeveral bones.

Thus far goes the information I have received of ſuch obſervations as were made at the time of opening this woman's body; but what follows is a deſcription of the parts of generation, in the ſtate they are in at preſent, in my poſſeſſion, and as they were diſſected by thoſe who opened the body.

To render the deſcription more intelligible I have cauſed three drawings to be made from the preparation, which are ſufficiently accurate.

The bladder, rectum, and uterus, with its appendages, have been cut out entire, and along with them ſome portion of the labia pudendi, and of the podex. The bladder was laid open, to examine its ſtate, and ſeems to be of the natural ſize. The vagina, os tincæ, and uterus are in a perfectly natural ſtate; but to obſerve the thickneſs of its coats a niche was made into
Plate I. the fundus uteri. At the left ſide the fallopian tube (*g*) is evident, and alſo the ovarium (*i*) of that ſide: Upon the whole, the appendages of the uterus on the left ſide are in a natural ſtate. At the right ſide the fallopian tube (*k*) and round ligament are very evident at the part next the uterus, but at the other extremity they are attached to the large bag or cyſt (*l*), which we may reaſonably conclude is the ovarium enlarged to this immenſe ſize. In order to have ſome notion of the capacity of the bag, I endeavoured to fill it with water, and from my obſervation I conclude that it would hold from ten to twelve quarts. The firſt drawing I had made was intended to give an idea of the ſize and appearance of the parts; and to ſhew the ſize of the cyſt better I filled it with horſe hair, as I
Plate II. alſo did with the vagina and rectum. The bladder (*b*) was laid to one ſide, reſting on a piece of ſtick (*c*). Upon laying open the cyſt we have a view of its internal parts, which are chiefly deſerving of notice: I make no doubt that the viſcid matter which flowed out at the time the woman was tapped made up the greateſt ſhare of the contents of the cyſt, and what

what remains now within it is only whatever was attached to its internal coat. A great part of the cyſt is even and ſmooth internally, but at that part of it which I conceive to have been the lowermoſt it is made very irregular and rough, by a great number of ſmall pouches of different ſizes, and ſeveral piles of bone: The contents of theſe ſmall pouches are as various as their ſizes are different; ſome contain a gelatinous kind of mucus, whilſt others contain cretaceous matter. In ſome I found a browniſh black ſtuff like bone which had been melted down and corrupted by putrefaction, and in others the contents reſembled fat, and felt like it when rubbed between the fingers. In ſome there were hairs, and in others ſmall fragments of bones. Some were attached by ſmall peduncles, others adhered by their coats. The bones were very irregular, nor can I ſay that they reſembled in every reſpect any one bone of the ſkeleton, although ſome of them had a good deal the appearance of being portions of the jaws: In particular, the pile, marked (*b*), reſembled the os maxillare ſuperius, having ſomething like a palate plate, an alveolar proceſs, and having teeth incaſed in it, as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. There were alſo ſeveral other bones, ſome round, as (*c*), and ſome flat, as (*d*), but neither of thoſe could be likened to any of the bones of the ſkeleton: They were all covered with a tough, tenſe, white membrane, which adhered very firmly to them, and reſembled much the common perioſteum: This was again covered by a production of the internal coat of the cyſt; and feeling the bones through this thick coat, I once imagined that the flat ones were ribs, and that the round one was the ſkeleton of a fœtuſe's leg and foot, more eſpecially as there was a joint; but

Plate II. and III.

upon baring them I could not ſay that they reſembled any of thoſe bones. As to the teeth, they were perfectly regular in all their parts, having baſes and fangs, and almoſt all being incaſed in an alveolar proceſs and ſockets, in the ſame way as teeth regularly are. They were forty-four in number, and the greater part was diſtinguiſhable into ſome of the ſpecies: Some were ſo unformed as that they could not be ranged into particular claſſes. There were eight inciſors, three canini, four bicuſpides, and ſixteen molares. Theſe could be reduced to their orders unequivocally, the remainder I doubted about. Several of them were of the firſt crop of teeth, whilſt the greater number were evidently ſuch as we ſhould find in the jaws of perſons of fourteen or fifteen years of age. I am convinced that ſome of the teeth may have been loſt, and that there are others ſtill covered in the cyſts; for I have here given an account of more than were diſcoverable at the time the drawings were made. Sixteen of the teeth were incaſed in the pile of bone, marked (*b*); the others were ſcattered without order, except that in general it did not happen that teeth of different ſpecies were cloſe to one another, but that inciſors, for example, would grow in the neighbourhood of each other, and even in contact, ſo as that their fangs grew together. There was alſo in one part of this ſac a diſtinct cell, in which was contained a quantity of hair, which ſeemed like the hair of the head, and which was matted into a cake by ſome matter, probably ſuch as filled the cavity of the ſac. Some of thoſe little tubercles, (marked *a*, *a*, *&c.*) or ſmall veſicles, which lay in the ſac, were alſo beſet with ſmall hairs.

Plate II. and III.

Plate II.

THUS

Thus I have endeavoured, with as much accuracy as poſſible, and in as few words as I could, to ſtate the particulars of this extraordinary caſe, and at the ſame time I have ſtated the obſervations made by others on ſimilar occaſions, ſo as to bring the whole under one point of view. Perhaps it may be expected that I ſhall alſo hazard ſome opinion with reſpect to the growth of thoſe bones, and how they came to arrive at ſuch maturity. This is a queſtion which involves with it too much matter for an eſſay of this nature, and it is a ſubject of ſuch intricacy, and admitting of ſo much doubt, that it is dangerous to attempt to explain it. I ſhall by no means pretend to decide the conteſts held on this ſubject, but I will lay before the reader two opinions relative to this ſubject, which appear to be the moſt deſerving of notice, leaving it to his own judgment to which he ſhould give his aſſent.

Ruysch, in his Adverſaria Anatomica, Decade the third, de Atheromate, decidedly delivers it as his opinion that tumours of this nature, whether found in the ovarium or not, will give riſe to the growth of hair, teeth and bones. In proof of this he relates a very uncommon caſe indeed of a young man whoſe body was examined after death, and in his ſtomach there was an atheroma, within which was found a bundle of hair like the hair of one's head, and likewiſe a piece of bone of an irregular ſhape, about the ſize of an almond. There were alſo four real dentes molares, ſuch as are to be found in a human jaw: Two of theſe teeth grew together, whereas two others had grown ſeparately: But what would aſtoniſh an obſerver moſt, ſays he, is that the thigh of a ſmall African deer was found in the ſame ſac, and this thigh

was

was as like the thigh of the deer as one egg is like to another *(ut vix ovo ſimilius ovum)* except that its hoof was not cloven as in the deer, but covered with a nail at its end like a human finger; and this thigh was moreover beſet with a few hairs like thoſe on a hand. What degree of credit is due to this ſtory it reſts not with me to determine: But to doubt the truth of it is not to call in queſtion the veracity of this great anatomiſt, ſince he gives the following hiſtory of the relation: The preparation of this atheroma was given to him by Caſper Commelinus, his Collegue and Profeſſor of Botany, together with an account of the caſe in the hand-writing of Cornelius Smit, from whom Commelinus had received it as a preſent. From this it would appear that the truth of this ſtory reſts with Cornelius Smit, who had travelled with it all the way from the Eaſt Indies. But granting that hairs and bones were really found in atheromas of the ſtomach, is it not more probable that theſe ſubſtances may have been ſwallowed accidentally, and generated the atheroma, than that they were generated in this tumour?

In oppoſition to Ruyſch's opinion there is another, which is ſupported by no leſs authority than that of the ſagacious Aſtruc. In the ſecond book of the Treatiſe on the diſeaſes of Women, chapter xii. article firſt, § ii, he ſays, beſides the common encyſted tumours found in the ovaria, as well as in other parts, there is one peculiar ſpecies formed there by the putrefaction of embryos which have been there conceived and have periſhed. We find in the ovaria, he adds, ſteatomata and atheromata with bundles of hair in them, which have puzzled anatomiſts much to account for, but I conjecture, ſaith Aſtruc, (not without the appearance of

of reaſon) that theſe are the hairs of the fœtus which has died here, and the hairs have continued to grow after its death, as they are known to do in dead bodies. If it be true, as Ruyſch ſays, that teeth are ſometimes found here alſo, it is incumbent on us to account for them in the ſame way that they have grown after the death of the fœtus, as Bianchi is inclined to believe they did in a dead child which remained in its mother's belly for fifteen months after the natural period of geſtation was ended: So far Aſtruc. But it is not neceſſary to give the teeth and bones a kind of vegetable growth, ſuch as hair is ſuppoſed to have, in order that they ſhould grow even to the maturity of adult bones. For we can ſuppoſe an inoſculation of blood-veſſels to have taken place between the membrane which covers the bones and the coats of the ſac, and in this manner the bone will be ſupplied with blood and will grow; and as the teeth and jaws are ſupplied from the ſame trunks, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe if the jaw grows the teeth ſhall grow alſo, and as the ſtamina of the two ſets of teeth exiſt long before they make their way through the alveolar proceſs, we may even conceive in this way a ſecond crop of teeth to be formed. This conjecture is founded on numerous obſervations, which prove that parts of animals, which have been ſeparated from each other, and afterwards brought into contact, do frequently unite, and, by their veſſels inoſculating, have a free circulation of fluids through them. From what has been ſaid of this woman's caſe it would appear that ſhe had borne this tumour and its contents for the ſpace of twenty-four years previous to her death; and it is wonderful that ſhe could live under it without complaint for ſuch a length of time. But our wonder will ceaſe

when

when we recollect that nature is infinite in her reſources, which are admirable even in her moſt excentric deviations from her common paths.

It is a curious ſubject to enquire into how long nature will preſerve a fœtus in its mother's belly, without creating any other inconvenience than what ariſes from carrying about the burthen.

The celebrated Bayle, profeſſor at Toulouſe in 1678, has handed down to us the hiſtory of a woman who carried her child for twenty-ſix years; and Thuanus, the great hiſtorian, (Hiſtoriarum, lib. lxxvi. cap. x.) relates the caſe of the wife of one Lewis Carita, a taylor, whoſe child remained in her belly twenty-eight years; and Monſieur Morand, in French Memoirs for the year 1748, page 118, gives us an account of a child which remained in its mother's belly for thirty-one years. But there is a caſe quoted by Morand which happened at Leinzell in Suabia, where the child was in the mother's belly for forty-ſix years, the mother having lived to the age of ninety-ſix, and having borne two children in the mean time. Dr. Middleton laid before the Royal Society the caſe of a woman who carried her child in her belly for ſixteen years, and during that time bore four children, all alive.

An EXPLICATION *of the three following* PLATES.

PLATE I.

(*a*) The orifice of the vagina.
(*b*) The bladder, half filled with water *.
(*d*) The anus.
(*f*) The body of the uterus.
(*g*) The fallopian tube.
(*h*) The fimbriated edges of the fallopian tube.
(*i*) The ovarium of the left ſide.
(*k*) The fallopian tube and ligaments of the right ſide, by which the great tumor (*l*) is connected with the uterus.
(*l*) The tumor.

PLATE II. and III.

(*a*) (*a*) (*a*) A number of pouches contained in, and adhering to the internal ſurface of the tumor.
(*b*) A pile of bone, with teeth incaſed.
(*c*) A ſmall round bone.
(*d*) A flat bone.

N. B. The circumſtances here referred to are much more diſtinct in the original drawings than in the plates, the former being of the natural ſize. In the third plate ſome of the parts repreſented in the ſecond are again offered to view, but the bones having been laid bare, are more diſtinctly ſeen.

* Since theſe ſheets were printed, new drawings were made, from whence the plates were engraven, which makes ſome difference in this explication from the deſcription contained in the hiſtory of the caſe.

Page 90. fec.

Bullard Pinxt.

k
f
i
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g
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a
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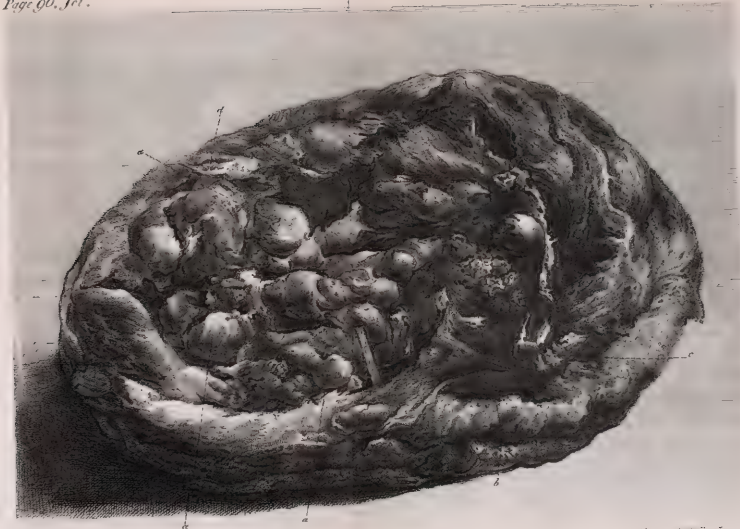
Page 90. Sct.

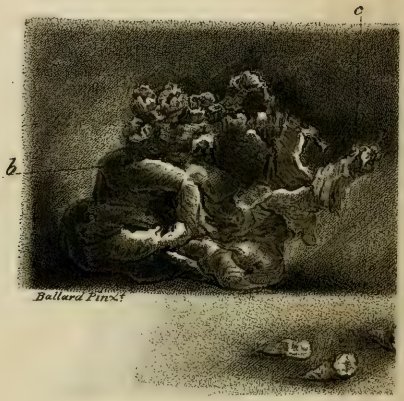
Ballard Pinxt

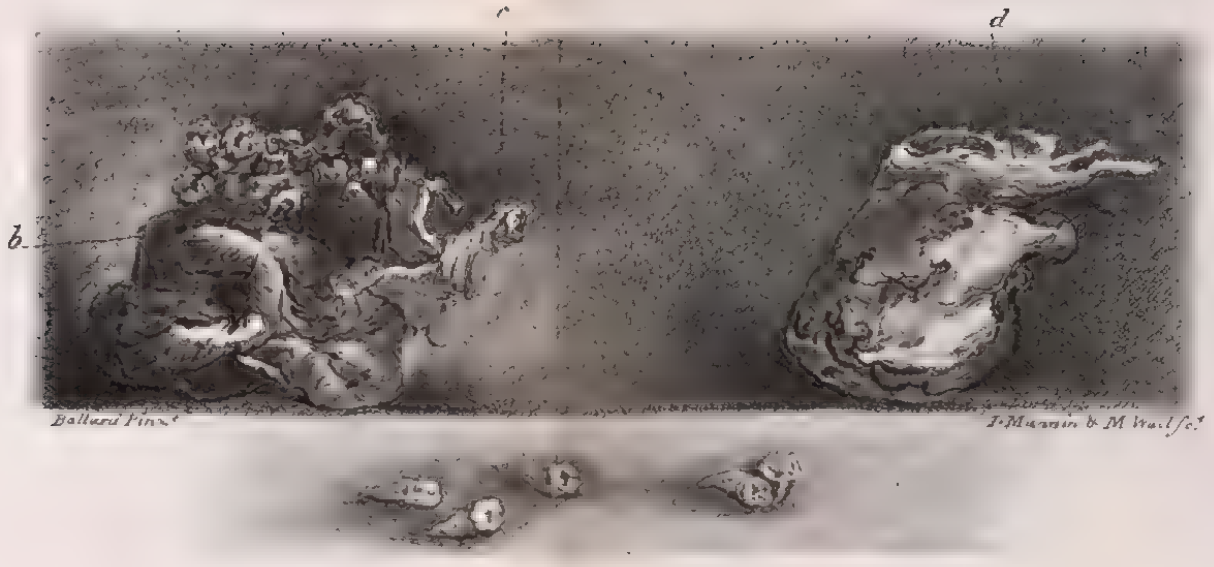


Ballard Pinxt

J. Mannan lithogr. 1st

Page 90. sct.

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POLITE LITERATURE.

An ESSAY *on* SUBLIMITY *of* WRITING. *By the Rev.* RICHARD STACK, *D. D. and M. R. I. A.*

LONGINUS, in his juſtly-admired treatiſe on the ſublime, has laid open to our view its five principal ſources: Boldneſs or vigour in the thoughts, vehement and enthuſiaſtic paſſion, invention of figures, ſplendid diction, and compoſition with dignity and elevation. Some critics before him having confounded the two firſt conſtituents, he ſhews the neceſſity of keeping them diſtinct, becauſe there are ſome paſſions, as pity, grief and fear, which are rather contrary to the ſublime: And again, there are numberleſs inſtances of ſublimity without any paſſion. Had he treated as copiouſly of the pathetic as of the reſt, he had probably given us equally intereſting and beautiful matter: But we are told he reſerved this curious ſubject for a ſeparate work. It has not, however, been left unnoticed. A great critic of our own age and country hath touched the ſubject

Read 13th February, 1786.

 with

with a maſterly hand. In a work of fine imagination and philoſophic enquiry he has endeavoured to prove that terror is in all caſes whatſoever, either more openly or latently, the ruling principle of the ſublime; and he inveſtigates the different qualities of objects which are moſt apt to excite terror. His theory ſeems in moſt reſpects perfectly juſt, in all its parts beautifully ingenious: But beſide its being queſtioned, whether terror be the only principle of the ſublime, he has not explained any further connection between the ſublime and the pathetic, nor ſhewn how far or in what circumſtances the expreſſions of the paſſions, with their ſeveral energies, can excite this principle, whatſoever it be.

This part of the ſubject then being left open to conjecture, I preſume to offer ſome reflections to the academy, not ſo much in the hope of their proving ſtrictly juſt and true, as to engage men of more critical judgment and taſte in the enquiry. If there ſhould be any truth in theſe reflections, they will ſerve as general principles to direct us in particular caſes.

Although it may be impoſſible to give a proper definition of the term ſublime as it relates to writing and compoſition, yet every body ſeems ſufficiently to underſtand its meaning. Whatever inſpires the mind with grand and lofty conceptions, as it were enlarges its dimenſions, and at the ſame time fills it with a ſort of delightful aſtoniſhment, is what we generally call ſublime. Let us ſee then how far ſome of the paſſions have in their natural expreſſion a tendency this way. It ſeems to me that all emotions of the ſoul, which tend to ſink its native dignity and impair its ſtrength, and which at the ſame time preſent it

to

to view as eaſily yielding to their influence, without any diſplay of that vigour which might naturally be looked for, are incapable of ſublime expreſſion. When the ſoul languiſhes without any ſtruggle or exertion, it cannot be a ſubject of admiration or even reſpect, and is therefore unfit by any deſcription to excite in us grand ideas. On the other hand, if no ſuch defects are betrayed; if the paſſion predominates not through any weakneſs of reaſon or want of courage, and if it be above the controul of all natural means and reſources, its language might not be inconſiſtent with the forms of ſublimity. To apply theſe principles to the paſſion of fear: When the power that cauſes this emotion is of ſuch a nature as ought to be oppoſed and might be reſiſted with effect, the ſufferer is little better than an object of pity or contempt. In ſuch a caſe the paſſion betrays a weak and puſillanimous mind, eaſily terrified by ordinary objects and on trifling occaſions; but when it is cauſed by ſome ſuperior, reſiſtleſs, or inviſible power, the expreſſion of the paſſion is naturally connected with an idea of that power, and ſo might become a fertile ſource of the ſublime. Of this latter we have innumerable inſtances in the ſublime writings of the prophets, and one very grand and ſtriking example in the book of Job;—"In thoughts from the viſions of the night, "when deep ſleep falleth upon men, fear came upon me and "trembling, which made all my bones to ſhake. Then a ſpirit "paſſed before me; the hair of my fleſh ſtood up: It ſtood "ſtill, but I could not diſcern the form thereof." But to illuſtrate our theory ſomewhat further: This paſſion appears differently modified, and therefore ſuited to different forms of expreſſion, according to the nature of its moving principle or cauſe, its object and its degrees. If it be excited by an ordinary

nary or trifling cauſe, if its object be mean or unworthy, or if its exceſſes be ſo great as to betray a want of all natural reſources in the mind, the paſſion is in all ſuch caſes what we uſually call fear, and is the property of a weak and abject mind. But where the cauſe that inflicts it lies above our reach, and exceeds every natural effort of the mind to cope withal, and eſpecially when under its ſcourge the mind exhibits ſigns of its native dignity and courage, ſuch a ſubject is fitted to produce our admiration, and of courſe to raiſe exalted and ſublime ideas. When, for inſtance, in the field of battle two combatants meet on equal terms, ſhould one of them ſuddenly reſign himſelf to his fears, and betake himſelf to flight, I believe the ſtrongeſt deſcription of ſuch terrors could excite no great idea, and we ſhould only feel that he was a mean and daſtardly coward: But when Macbeth ſhrinks from the ſight of Macduff, penetrated with a lively ſenſe of the wrongs which he had done him, and overwhelmed by his own guilt, it is a bold and ſublime deſcription of the power of conſcience, which can ſometimes cauſe the ſtouteſt heart to tremble. Upon the ſame account I eſteem another expreſſion of his terror to be truly ſublime, "How is't with me when every noiſe appals me." A third example I think may be taken from that celebrated paſſage of Homer, where Minerva appears flaſhing terror from her ægis upon the eyes of the Trojan warriors. I acknowledge the ſublimity of this paſſage is in a high degree owing to the grandeur of the image which it preſents; but yet the effect produced does not in the leaſt impair that ſublimity; however ſunk and bewildered and loſt to all powers of reſiſtance the objects appear, this deſcription of them rather heightens than diminiſhes the ſublime effect. I cannot ſay that I am ſo well ſatisfied with the conduct

duct of Homer in bringing about the death of Hector; in this he ſeems to ſacrifice character and probability to national vanity. The flight of this warrior degrades his character too far, and much of that glory which would be reflected on his own hero is loſt by the contrivance.

While I am engaged in this part of the ſubject I muſt take the liberty of queſtioning one criticiſm of Longinus—It is upon that paſſage of Homer, where Neptune is repreſented as ſhaking all the powers of nature, and which cloſes with the image of Pluto ſtarting from his throne, and ſhouting with terror, leſt the general ſhock might diſcloſe his infernal realms to mortal ſight. Longinus beſtows full praiſe upon every thought of the paſſage except the laſt; but involves this in a general cenſure, that Homer's Gods are Men, and his Men Gods. The general obſervation is frequently too juſt, and in my opinion is partly exemplified in the inſtance which I have juſt now mentioned; Achilles there appears arrayed in terrors more than human. Yet I think the caſe now before us deſerves no cenſure. There is ſomething ſo inconceivably ſublime in the thought, that, even were it not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the laws of criticiſm, it ſhould be pronounced above the reach of art. But I think it can be vindicated. It was the genius of the Heathen Mythology to aſcribe paſſions to their Gods; ſo that great latitude was given the poet in the conduct of this machinery. Homer has certainly often violated all decorum and probability, yet the preſent occaſion does not ſeem to be one of theſe. The fabulous account of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto having portioned out among them the univerſe according to the rank of each, prepares the mind for the watchful and jealous attention of each to his own province;

vince; ſo that any ſudden event (like the commotion excited by Neptune) which might ſeem to portend an invaſion, muſt naturally have excited an alarm, eſpecially if it aroſe from the more powerful being. The mixed emotions of terror and aſtoniſhment, ſo ſudden and momentary as they are here deſcribed, betray no defect of magnanimity or vigour, and therefore have nothing in them unfavourable to a ſublime deſcription. It appears then from the inſtances now adduced that this paſſion may aſſume the form of ſublimity or meanneſs, according to its moving principle or cauſe.

The object upon which the paſſion is employed is alſo of conſiderable influence, according as it is great and worthy and exalted, or low and mean and contracted. Suppoſe our country were invaded by a powerful enemy, againſt whom there was little hope of making a ſucceſsful ſtand; and that in this ſeaſon of public calamity, we ſhould hear a man expreſſing his fears leſt he might be involved in the general ruin which threatened: The moſt vehement pathos could excite no ideas but thoſe of contempt and diſguſt. But the noble and diſintereſted patriot, who at ſuch a criſis ſhould be ſeen alarmed and terrified, not for his own perſonal ſafety, but the ſalvation of his country, is one of the moſt glorious objects that can be preſented to our view; and the paſſion excited in ſuch a ſubject, and by ſuch an occaſion, might be uttered in language truly ſublime. The general, to whoſe good conduct the welfare of an army or a ſtate is committed, will fear to hazard an engagement, unleſs upon moſt favourable grounds, and will patiently endure to be reproached with backwardneſs and cowardice; yet the cautious conduct of ſuch a character derives dignity from its object, and might

might be exhibited in expreſſions of ſober grandeur. When Macbeth declines the murder of Duncan, and is charged with puſillanimity by his wife, his reply, which admits the charge, is one of the ſublimeſt thoughts any where to be found :—" I dare " do all that may become a man, who dares do more is none." Thus we ſee this paſſion derives a character from its object or the matter which gives it employment.

The third circumſtance which I mentioned, as giving the paſſion different modifications, was its degrees; the object may be great and becoming, yet ſuch an exquiſite ſenſibility to this, as might betray the ſuccours of reaſon, and prevent the application of all proper reſources, ceaſes to deſerve our admiration, and by overleaping its proper bounds, falls on the other ſide. The paſſion loſes all dignity of character if it uſurp the place of reaſon where reaſon ought to govern. All extravagance and exceſs ought as far as poſſible to be avoided. The paſſion ſhould rather excite the action, than rebate the vigour of the mind. Upon the whole then it appears that this paſſion, as it may ſometimes be inconſiſtent with the ſublime, may at others be highly favourable to it, and therefore that we muſt underſtand the term φοβος uſed by Longinus in a reſtrained ſenſe. Perhaps we may in general aſſert, that the paſſion uſually called fear ſeldom can be employed in the ſublime, while another modification of the ſame paſſion, terror, might open a very copious ſource, and thus may the great antient and modern critics be reconciled.

The ſame principles, I imagine, might apply to the paſſion of revenge. Lord Kaims concludes from induction, that dignity

is not a property of any diſagreeable paſſion, and declares himſelf willing to put this to the teſt in the moſt ſpirited picture of revenge ever drawn—It is the ſpeech of Anthony wailing over the body of Cæſar:

> Woe to the hand that ſhed this coſtly blood!
> Over thy wounds now do I propheſy,
> Which, like dumb mouths, do ope their ruby lips,
> To beg the voice and utt'rance of my tongue;
> A curſe ſhall light upon the limbs of men,
> Domeſtic fury and fierce civil ſtrife
> Shall cumber all the parts of Italy:
> Blood and deſtruction ſhall be ſo in uſe,
> And dreadful objects ſo familiar,
> That mothers ſhall but ſmile when they behold
> Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war:
> All pity choak'd with cuſtom of fell deeds;
> And Cæſar's ſpirit, raging for revenge,
> With Até by his ſide, come hot from Hell,
> Shall in theſe confines, with a monarch's voice,
> Cry havoc, and let ſlip the dogs of war.

I ESTEEM moſt parts of this paſſage truly ſublime; but this being a matter of taſte and feeling, it may be difficult to determine the queſtion. However, I cannot admit his general poſition. The paſſion of revenge (if we abſtract from the rules of our meek and holy religion) ſeems capable on many occaſions of riſing into dignity. Among ſome nations it is eſteemed the moſt exalted virtue—Zanga calls his countrymen children of the ſun, with whom revenge is virtue. I am of opinion that wherever the paſſion is held neceſſary for the vindication of honour, or for the ſupport of any other admired virtue, it might very ſucceſsfully

ceſsfully be employed in ſublime compoſition. Diſdain ſeems another of thoſe diſagreeable paſſions which may ſometimes lay claim to dignity. I aſk whether the ſilent expreſſion of this paſſion from Ajax toward Ulyſſes, upon his deſcent into Hell, be not truly great and ſublime? If it be not, I am at a loſs to know what is. Envy and malice indeed ſeem to be under every modification unſuitable to the ſublime. A mind addicted to theſe malignant paſſions is incapable of all true dignity. There is ſomething ſo vile and abject in them, that however forcible and pointed their natural expreſſion might be, we cannot conceive it to approach in any degree to a ſublime form. The character of Shylock is drawn with admirable force, but no where affects ſublimity.

Let us apply our principles to ſome other paſſions. Grief and pity have for their objects the calamities of ourſelves and others. Theſe paſſions ſeem to have a natural tendency to weaken and depreſs the mind. It is their diſpoſition to gratify themſelves, and to dwell with a melancholy pleaſure on their object; and thus by at once relaxing the vigour of the mind, and confining its views and affections, they are apt to prevent all elevation and expanſion. The ſubject matter which employs them being moſt commonly the ordinary incidents of human life, are therefore unfit to raiſe aſtoniſhment, or any emotions kindred to the ſublime. Every day's acquaintance with the world diſcovers them to be the common lot of humanity, and therefore the mind ought to meet them in ſome degree prepared. The full extent of the evil being known, the agitation of the mind is of courſe leſs than when it is under the impreſſion of terror, which is apt to magnify its object, and in ſo

doing has a turn to the ſublime. Theſe paſſions alſo might be ſaid in ſome ſort to magnify their object; but they do ſo in a manner very unfavourable to the ſublime, by throwing round it all the tender and minute circumſtances which formerly accompanied and endeared the object. I am for theſe reaſons inclined to think theſe paſſions to be for the moſt part unfit for ſublime expreſſion. The funeral oration of Anthony over Cæſar's dead body, ſo wonderfully calculated to raiſe emotions of grief and pity, in the following lines, I confeſs appears to me ſublime:

> For when the noble Cæſar ſaw him ſtab,
> Ingratitude, more ſtrong than traitor's arms,
> Quite vanquiſh'd him.—Then burſt his mighty heart;
> And in his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the baſe of Pompey's ſtatue,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Cæſar fell.

But the ſublimity of this paſſage does not, perhaps, ſo much depend upon the pathetic emotions of the ſpeaker, as upon the noble character of Cæſar, ſo finely drawn, fighting againſt an hoſt of traitors, yet ſinking at the ſight of his beloved friend; and above all, upon the great and affecting image conveyed in the two laſt lines, by which this eloquent ſpeaker hath contrived moſt forcibly to mark the horrid deed, and to reflect a ſuperior luſtre on the departed hero, in thus making the inanimate ſtatue of his rival ſhed drops of blood for his fall.

There is another very fine picture of grief, where Satan is introduced by Milton, after having eſcaped from Hell, addreſſing the ſun, and recalling to mind the circumſtances of his own loſt glory and happineſs. The paſſage is too long for quotation, but

but may be found in the fourth book of Paradiſe Loſt. Several paſſions are moved in that pathetic addreſs; yet if we attend carefully to ſuch parts of it as are the pure and unmixed expreſſions of grief, I think the emotions excited have very little analogy to the ſublime. However grand and terrible the Being, and of courſe well adapted to raiſe awful and ſublime ideas, we naturally ſoften into pity; his grief degrades him from the loftineſs of his pride, and places him in ſome ſort upon our own level; and we ſo far ſympathize with him, as for ſome moments to forget his infernal character.

The compaſſion of our Lord over Jeruſalem muſt be acknowledged to be truly ſublime:—"O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, which "killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent unto thee, "how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a "hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would "not!" And in another place the expreſſion of his pity is no leſs ſublime:—"And when he was come near, he beheld the "city, and wept over it, ſaying, If thou hadſt known, even "thou, at leaſt in this thy day, the things which belong unto "thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes." Such exceptions, however, being entirely out of the ordinary courſe of events, and inapplicable to any general principles, by no means invalidate, but ſeem rather to confirm the theory.

I must beg leave to recur here to an obſervation which I had occaſion to make ſome time ago, reſpecting the exceſſes of the paſſion of fear. I would there be underſtood to mean ſuch exceſſes as the mind falls into without diſplaying any reaſonable conflict, and which betray rather imbecillity than

violent emotion; for there are exceſſes I believe of almoſt every paſſion, which are ſometimes occaſions of the ſublime. Such a degree of pathos as exhibits vehement, uncommon and aſtoniſhing agitations, and almoſt runs out into madneſs, whatever be the efficient cauſe, however refined or tender it might be thought, when abſtracted from ſuch effects, appears ſometimes in a ſublime form. The mind thus agitated often ſtrikes out great and forcible images, or pours itſelf forth in ſtrong and glowing language. Almoſt all the paſſions, if carried to exceſs, naturally fall into the uſe of the proſopopæia, one of the boldeſt figures of ſpeech, and ſublimeſt expreſſions of paſſion. In caſes like theſe nothing ſeems attended to but the effects themſelves. The imagination is too ſtrongly impreſſed and too deeply intereſted to trace them up to their cauſes. So that if they be of ſuch a nature as to excite emotions of terror, or if they be ſigns of ſome great exertion of force and power, or have a ſtriking analogy to any other form or ſource of the ſublime, they do not loſe their character by a relation to their efficient cauſe. Perhaps we ſhould for the moſt part except pity on ſuch occaſions, which ſeems not well ſuited to vehement expreſſion. This paſſion may be conſidered as the handmaid of grief, attending it through all its ſofter movements, but unable to follow in any extravagant exceſſes, and under theſe circumſtances generally loſt in ſilent contemplation. Even grief itſelf ſeems leſs liable to theſe violent agitations than moſt other paſſions, and ſeldom appears in ſo diſturbed a form, except in minds naturally weak and tender; and it ſhould be obſerved, that in caſes of this nature the character of the ſufferer gives a ſoft and delicate ſhade to the paſſion, however vehement, and ſo in a great meaſure defeats the ſublime effect. The grief of Belvidera could

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not well be deſcribed in ſo ſublime characters as that of Othello. The grief of Conſtance has a ſtronger claim to ſublimity: In her we contemplate not the character of the woman diſſolved in all the tenderneſs of paſſion, but the glowing affection of the mother, exalted by the dignity of the queen.

Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on this ſubject, acknowledges the pathetic in ſome inſtances to be a proper ſource of the ſublime. It were to be wiſhed that he had in ſome manner defined thoſe inſtances; but this matter he has left entirely at large, and contents himſelf with pronouncing againſt the judgment of Longinus, that Sappho's Ode contains nothing of the ſublime, although it will generally be allowed highly pathetic. Had he thought fit to take this part of the ſubject in hand, the reflections with which I have troubled the Academy I ſhould probably have deemed unneceſſary. Upon Sappho's Ode I will not venture to give any decided opinion—I ſhall only endeavour to apply the principles already advanced to this queſtion, as far as they ſeem either to ſupport or oppoſe the opinion of Longinus.

The great critic introduces the ode with this critical obſervation, "that of neceſſity it muſt be a great cauſe of the "ſublime to ſelect the principal circumſtances which riſe out "of the ſubject, and by their compoſition to form one entire "body; both which excellencies are found in this Ode." And he ſubjoins to them a more particular account of the nature of thoſe circumſtances:—"Do you not wonder," ſays he, "how at the ſame inſtant her ſoul, her body, her voice, her "ears, her eyes, her colour, all ſeem utterly loſt to her! How

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" by contraries ſhe freezes and burns, ſhe raves and is ſober,
" ſhe trembles and almoſt expires; ſo that not a ſingle paſſion,
" but a combination of them, ſeems to overwhelm her."

Dr. Blair admits that ſtrength of deſcription, a neceſſary requiſite to the ſublime, depends upon a proper choice of circumſtances. The only queſtion then in the preſent caſe is, whether the circumſtances are capable by any management of cauſing ſublime emotions; for if they be, it will hardly be doubted that they are well choſen and happily combined. We have here a moſt pathetic deſcription of certain violent affections, the effects of a paſſion as arbitrary and deſpotic in ſwaying the human heart, as it is univerſal in its influence: The moſt exalted hero bows to its ſovereign dominion. There being, therefore, no meanneſs nor weakneſs of mind in becoming its ſubject, ſo far there ſeems to be nothing unfavourable to the ſublime, particularly when its effects are vehement and aſtoniſhing, full of pain and terror. We ſhould alſo conſider theſe emotions to be wrought in a great degree by jealouſy, a paſſion which by its extreme agitation is likely to ſtrike out bold and forcible expreſſions. The human frame, agitated and convulſed almoſt to diſſolution by the mixed paſſions of love and jealouſy and deſpair, is an object well adapted to excite ſtrong ſympathetic emotions, and to fill the mind with alarming ideas of the deſolating fury of theſe paſſions. For the moſt part, indeed, love is conſidered as a tender and refined paſſion, and as bearing a cloſer analogy to beauty, its natural foundation, than to ſublimity. The ſentiment is generally true; yet as there is nothing in the nature of the paſſion humiliating or unworthy of true magnanimity, as it frequently gives the mind a generous and exalted turn, and

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is at the ſame time capable of producing the moſt vehement emotions, it ſeems to me in many inſtances capable of ſublime deſcription. Should Sappho's Ode notwithſtanding be thought deficient in ſublimity, ſome reaſons might be aſſigned for this, conſiſtent with the principles already laid down. The opening of this Ode ſeems too beautiful to convey any idea of a ſoul violently agitated; it deſcribes the charms of the beloved object, and makes theſe the ground of thoſe vehement emotions which break out in the following part. The tranſition is not ſtrongly marked, nor of courſe are the former impreſſions entirely done away. But what I take to be leaſt congenial to the ſublime is the character of the ſubject, who is of ſo tender and delicate a nature, that we do not look for any vigorous effort of reſiſtance, but on the contrary are led to ſuppoſe that the ſoul hath been fondly ſurrendered to the influence of the paſſion. The ſame ſentiments, I believe, coming from a firm and reſolute heart, which had long ſtruggled in vain againſt the uncontroulable ſtrength of paſſion, might perhaps excite emotions kindred to the ſublime. No paſſion can be conſidered as wholly abſtracted from the ſubject in which it is found, and the ſubject muſt conſequently have a powerful effect in deciding the character of the paſſion. In the character of Othello, which is that of a generous warrior, the paſſion is deſcribed in its various ſtages and progreſs, from the moſt abſolute content to the laſt fatal exceſſes of jealouſy and deſpair. Some of thoſe paſſages may I think be called ſublime:

It gives me wonder great as my content
To ſee you here before me. Oh, my ſoul's joy!
If after ev'ry tempeſt come ſuch calms,
May the winds blow 'till they have waken'd death:
And let the labouring bark climb hills of ſeas
Olympus high, and duck again as low
As Hell's from Heaven.

In this fine ſpeech the tranſport of his paſſion ſwells his ſoul, and pours itſelf forth in ſplendid and glowing expreſſions.

When his jealouſy ſeems to have gained the aſcendant over his love, nothing can be more ſublime as well as pathetic than the ſentiments which it draws forth:

Oh, now for ever
Farewell the tranquil mind, farewell content,
Farewell the plumed troops, and the big war
That makes ambition virtue. Oh, farewell!

In the ſcene where he murders Deſdemona we may diſcover how cloſe an affinity there is between the pathetic and the ſublime:

Yes, 'tis Æmilia.—By and by.—She's dead.
'Tis like ſhe comes to ſpeak of Caſſio's death.—
The noiſe was nigh.—Ha! no more moving!
Still as the grave!—Shall ſhe come in? Wer't good?
I think ſhe ſtirs again—No.—What's beſt?
If ſhe come in, ſhe'll ſure ſpeak to my wife!
My wife! My wife! I have no wife!
Oh inſupportable! Oh heavy hour!
Methinks it ſhould be now a huge eclipſe
Of ſun and moon; 'and that th' affrighted globe
Should yawn at alteration.

The principles hitherto laid down may ſerve in ſome degree to ſhew the connection between the pathetic and ſublime, ſo far as the deſcription and expreſſion of the ſeveral paſſions are concerned. Another copious ſource of the ſublime may be laid open in the government and controul of the paſſions, which may poſſibly be the ſubject of a future eſſay.

I was induced to give attention to the ſubject before us from having read ſome ſtrictures made upon Longinus by Dr. Blair, in my opinion without ſufficient foundation. To vindicate the great critic was my firſt deſign; but yet finding no principles to which we might reſort for determining the connection in any caſe whatſoever between the pathetic and ſublime, I have offered you ſuch reflections on this matter as aroſe in my own mind. Having done ſo, I will now briefly examine thoſe ſtrictures by Dr. Blair.

He aſſerts that Longinus has made a falſe diviſion of his ſubject; for that of the five ſources of the ſublime which he has laid open, the three laſt have perhaps leſs relation to the ſublime than to any other ſpecies of good writing, becauſe it requires leſs the aſſiſtance of ornament; and he calls this plan rather a treatiſe of rhetoric than of the ſublime. This ſeems to me too ſummary a way of deciding upon the merit of a work which has received the ſanction of learning and taſte in all ages. Such a criticiſm ought to have been ſupported by ſome argument, and not advanced in its preſent undigeſted form. To me it appears materially defective, both becauſe Dr. Blair has miſconceived, or at leaſt improperly expreſſed, the great author's

 meaning;

meaning; and alſo becauſe, even admitting the three laſt ſources to have no peculiar relation to the ſublime, yet if they be capital conſtituents of this as well as other ſpecies of writing (which I hope preſently to ſhew) they have certainly an eſſential part in a complete treatiſe on the ſubject.

I SAY then that Dr. Blair has miſconceived, or at leaſt improperly expreſſed, the great critic's meaning. The fifth ſource of the ſublime mentioned by Longinus is in theſe words, εν αξιωματι και διαξσει συνθεσις, or compoſition with ſuitable dignity and elevation. Longinus, indeed, treating of this part of his ſubject, ſometimes appears to explain it by the terms ρυθμος and αρμονια; by which we are to underſtand ſuch a collocation of the ſeveral parts, both words and ſentences, as may ſerve to give the ſublime matter its fulleſt effect. And this idea, even if nothing further were intended, is ſurely very different from Dr. Blair's tranſlation of the paſſage, "muſical ſtruc-"ture and arrangement," which in my opinion ſuggeſts to every reader nothing more than the meaſured cadence of elaborate periods and well-tuned ſentences. The tranſlation indeed is not peculiarly related to the ſublime, perhaps leſs than to any other ſpecies of good writing; for the ſublime diſdains ſuch tinſel ornament. But the great critic himſelf meant not ſuch an arragement as pleaſes the ear, but ſupports the thought. And hence we find him beſtowing the higheſt commendation on this ſource, as compriſing and giving completion to every other excellence. He preſuppoſes a proper ſelection of words proportioned to the thoughts, and then requires that the ſound may in ſome ſort be an echo to the ſenſe. And has not this been

been a law rather of nature than of artificial criticiſm to the ſublimeſt writers in the world? Can there be a doubt that the ſame conception ſhall have different effects, according as the language in which it is clothed is mean or grand, and as the arrangement is weak, vague and ſpiritleſs, or cloſe, ſtrong and animated? An idea naturally ſublime might not perhaps loſe its whole ſublimity under the moſt wretched diſguiſe, yet it cannot be denied that ſuch a diſguiſe would conſiderably impair its grandeur; and therefore the precepts given under the heads of diction and arrangement are of material import. Nor do they ſeem leſs neceſſary to ſublime compoſition than to any other ſpecies of good writing: It is the perfection of human genius; and every circumſtance which can heighten or obſcure its glory becomes of intereſting moment. Where Majeſty appears, we expect to find a ſuitable pomp and dignity ſurround the throne. A ſingle example may ſerve to illuſtrate what has been advanced: Let it be taken from that ſublime paſſage in the 6th book of Milton, where the Son of God is deſcribed coming forth in his chariot againſt the rebel angels:

Under his burning wheels
The ſtedfaſt Empyrean ſhook throughout,
All but the throne itſelf of God.

See now how the great ſublime of this paſſage will ſink, though we ſhould preſerve the thought, and make little other change beſide in the arrangement:

Except the throne of God,
All the firm Heav'n beneath his heated wheels
Did ſhake throughout.

If further proof were neceſſary, I would only deſire any man to attempt ſome other form of expreſſion for that divine paſſage of Homer reſpecting Pluto's terror, δ' εν δρονε αλτο και ιαχε. He will then perhaps be ſenſible that there is a ſecret virtue and powerful charm in language and arrangement.

The uſe of figures is perhaps of more importance than either of the precepts which we have been juſt conſidering, for they affect rather the matter than the form of compoſition.

Nothing ſeems more finely calculated to produce ſublime effects than the invention and application of bold and ſtriking figures. Dr. Blair tells us that "it is not by hunting after "tropes and figures we can expect to produce the ſublime." The laboured and affected uſe of ſuch ornaments I admit to be improper; but then we ſhould conſider that figurative language is the natural language of the paſſions, and of courſe might be neceſſarily required and happily employed in caſes where the pathetic riſes into the ſublime. And for this cauſe the mind ſhould be ſtored with a copious variety of images and figures; for when the imagination or the paſſions are once heated, they will naturally ſtrike out ſuch as are moſt appropriate to the ſubject. Longinus, I think, demonſtrates that figures and ſublimity impart a reciprocal aid; or in other words, the ſublime matter is heightened by the invention of bold figures, and figures in their turn acquire force and grandeur from their connection with the ſublime. I am the more ſurprized at Dr. Blair's rejecting this ſource, as Longinus has exemplified its noble effects in more inſtances than one. For this purpoſe he has introduced

troduced the celebrated apoſtrophe of Demoſthenes in his oration for the crown. The obvious uſe, ſays the critic, to be made of the battle of Marathon, to his countrymen, was this: You have not erred, for thoſe who fought at Marathon were an example to you. Inſtead of this cold and lifeleſs reaſoning, he ſwears "by the manes of thoſe who died at Marathon;" thus deifying the heroes of his country, rouſing in them a ſenſe of national glory, and carrying his hearers along with him from the preſent gloomy ſcene, in a ſtrain of bold and pathetic eloquence. Longinus himſelf too illuſtrates the ſame point by his own great example. Speaking of Homer's genius in the Odyſſey, he compares him to the ſetting ſun, whoſe grandeur remains without his fire. And again he ſays, that like the ocean retiring within itſelf, ſo do the ebbings of ſublime genius appear even in his fabulous and incredible wanderings. I am ſo far from ſubſcribing to Dr. Blair's aſſertion, that figures have no relation to the ſublime, that I think ſome of them peculiarly adapted to this mode of compoſition. Of theſe I ſhall mention two, the climax and proſopopœia. It ſeems to me that if the ſeveral circumſtances of a climax be well choſen and judiciouſly diſpoſed, it has a direct tendency this way. The thought itſelf ſhould certainly be grand, and the parts of proportionable ſtrength and greatneſs; yet if their order be not natural, but expoſe the mind to alternate fits of contraction and expanſion, the whole effect will be greatly impaired: Whereas by a regular ſwell and majeſtic aſcent, new matter of wonder and delight is continually ſupplied, and the mind becomes at laſt ſo filled with the thought, as not to have room for the admiſſion of more. The following awful paſſage of Shakeſpeare is perfectly of this kind:

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
Yea all which it inherit, ſhall diſſolve,
And like this inſubſtantial pageant faded,
Leave not a wreck behind.

The whole of this grand thought may be thus ſhortly and proſaically expreſſed:—"The earth, with every work of art and "nature which it contains, ſhall in time be annihilated." Yet who can be dull enough to maintain this fundamental thought to be of equal ſublimity with the figure. Dr. Blair will perhaps call this a proper ſelection of circumſtances; but this is not its entire excellence, and if it were, his criticiſm would be merely a play upon words, for it is univerſally accounted among the figures of ſpeech.

To prove the ſublime effect of the proſopopæia I ſhall ſelect two inſtances. The firſt may be found in Biſhop Sherlock's Sermons:—"How deſpitefully do we treat the Goſpel of Chriſt, "to which we owe that clear light which we now enjoy, "when we endeavour to ſet up reaſon and nature in oppoſition "to it. Ought *the withered hand*, which Chriſt has reſtored and "made whole, to be lifted up againſt him? Or ought the *dumb* "*man's tongue*, juſt looſened from the bonds of ſilence, to blaſ-"pheme the power that ſet it free?" The ground of this moſt eloquent paſſage is the ingratitude of modern infidelity, in employing thoſe advantages of light and knowledge which reaſon has derived from revelation againſt the intereſts of the Goſpel. But is there any man of feeling upon earth who thinks the abſtract ſentiment approaches in any degree to the ſublimity of the figurative form? Perhaps it may not be thought refining

too

too much here to obſerve, that of the two fine figures juſt mentioned, the withered hand has the ſuperior excellence. Two reaſons I think can be aſſigned for this; firſt, becauſe it is further removed from the literal ſentiment; and ſecondly, it implies more action, which the mind ever delights in contemplating If this criticiſm be in any degree juſt, it will furniſh an additional proof in favour of bold and ſtriking figures.

The ſecond example of the proſopopæia ſhall be taken from the Prophet Iſaiah, ſpeaking of the fall of Babylon: "Hell from "beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming. All "they ſhall ſpeak and ſay unto thee, Art thou alſo become "weak as we? Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is "brought down to the grave—The worm is ſpread under thee, "and the worms cover thee. How art thou fallen from Hea-"ven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morn!" Nothing can exceed this in ſublimity; yet what is the thought ſtripped of the figure? It is only the deſtruction of Babylon, and the joy of all nations at ſeeing that proud and inſolent tyrant brought low as themſelves.

If it ſhould be thought that I have taken up too much time in my vindication of the great ancient critic, whoſe fame is already eſtabliſhed, let it be conſidered that Dr. Blair's works are held in very general eſteem: His Lectures upon Rhetoric contain much uſeful information; at the ſame time there are to be found in them ſome inſtances of negligence, which we ſhould not expect in a work profeſſing ſo much critical accuracy. I think the preſent is one of thoſe; and I am the more confirmed in my

opinion, when I conſider the vague manner in which he has expreſſed himſelf on this ſubject:—" If it be aſked," ſays he, " what are the proper ſources of the ſublime? I anſwer, they are " to be found every where in nature." Here, when we look for ſome definite rules for our guidance, our thoughts are thrown looſe upon the world. In truth I cannot ſo far ſee the virtue of this univerſal rule, as to adopt it haſtily, to the excluſion of a great and important part of that admirable work of Longinus; in which, although he ſometimes departs from his original deſign, and adduces inſtances rather of good compoſition at large, yet the principles are for the moſt part in my opinion perfectly juſt, and his illuſtrations of them truly ſublime.

ESSAY *on the* STILE *of Doctor* SAMUEL JOHNSON.

No. I.

By the Rev. ROBERT BURROWES, *A. M. and M. R. I. A.*

Read March 13, 1786.

AS the primary and immediate desire of every reader must necessarily be to understand the meaning of his author, of all the faults of stile obscurity must be the most obvious and offensive. Equally unpleasing to him who studies for instruction, and to him who reads for entertainment; to the indolent as demanding, and to the active as not rewarding his exertions, all classes unite to reprobate it. Different from all other faults in this, that no critical sagacity, no erudition is required to perceive it, in the same moment it is perceived and condemned: the author is tried by judges whose only qualification is, that they do not understand; and as ignorance is always severe, the awful sentence "si non vis intelligi, debes negligi," dooms him without farther enquiry to that punishment, which the Republic of Letters has always esteemed the most mortifying.

But this ſentence is too general to be always juſt: there is ſometimes an embarraſſment in the ſubject-matter which cauſes an inevitable obſcurity in treating of it; and there is often an inability in the judge which ſelf-love ſcreens from obſervation. "The critic," ſays Dr. Johnſon, in a paper of his Idler, which he ſeems to have deſigned as a defence of his own ſtile againſt this objection, "ought always to enquire whether he is incommoded by the author's fault or his own." How far this paper juſtifies Johnſon's ſtile ſhall be conſidered in the ſubſequent part of this eſſay: it is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that as all obſcurity is relative, its cauſe may reſide either in the reader or in the writer, and even where the reader muſt be acquitted, the writer is not always to be condemned.

That Johnſon's ſtile is obſcure, the teſtimony of all unlearned readers abundantly confirms; and from the ſame authority the cauſe may be ſtated to be his perpetual affectation of expreſſing his thoughts by the uſe of polyſyllables of Latin derivation: a fault, which confines to men of erudition the moſt animating enforcements to virtue and the moſt ſalutary rules of conduct, by diſqualifying all who have not been made acquainted by a liberal education with the Latin appellations for things, or thoſe, from whoſe memories the common uſe of the Engliſh names has in courſe of time effaced them. And let it not be ſaid that ſuch a claſs is beneath the attention of an author, when it is conſidered that almoſt the whole female world, from the circumſtances of their education are neceſſarily included in it. They learn the words of their language from converſation or familiar books; but with whom are they to converſe, or what volumes of muſty pedantry are

are they to ranſack, to be enabled to peruſe the writings of Johnſon without frequent recourſe to his dictionary? Nor has this wilful excluſion of the unlearned readers ſerved as a means of conciliating the favour of the learned, who, though they underſtand Latin, in an Engliſh work expect to find Engliſh; and whatever may be the peculiarities of their own ſtile, are forward enough to diſcover and reprobate thoſe of others.

Thus Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that Milton formed his ſtile on a perverſe and pedantic principle: he was deſirous "to uſe Engliſh "words with a foreign idiom." But Milton's poetry, if indeed a defence be neceſſary, is ſufficiently defended by eſtabliſhed poetic licenſe: and for his proſe, let it be obſerved, that his ſubjects were learned, and I may ſay technical, and his readers of ſuch deſcription as left it matter of indifference whether they ſhould be addreſſed in Engliſh or in Latin: that he was engaged in repeated controverſies with foreigners, and his works deſigned to perſecute the fortunes of the exiled monarch over the continent, and written, in ſome ſort officially, by the Latin ſecretary to Cromwell. But ſurely that principle, which has led Johnſon to ſeek for remote words, though with the Engliſh idiom, is no leſs pedantic than Milton's, and much more injurious by its obſcurity. The reader who knows the ſingle words may perhaps be able to overcome the difficulties of the arrangement, but for ignorance of the ſingle words no remedy can with efficacy be applied. Johnſon has beſides no peculiarity of ſituation to plead in excuſe, but has on the contrary adopted his pedantic principle againſt the diſſuaſive influence of circumſtances. From the writer of an Engliſh dictionary, there might reaſonably be expected

pected a nice ſelection of words, purely and radically Engliſh, or at leaſt the uſe of ſuch only as had been indiſputably admitted into the language: and the complexion of his readers, as well as the popular ſubjects he treated of, were ſuch as might be thought to furniſh little temptation to learned and antiquated phraſeology. Indeed, if rules for periodical eſſays are to be drawn from the practice of their great Engliſh original, Mr. Addiſon, as the rules of epic poetry from Homer's, nothing can be more oppoſite to their true character; for as their profeſſed intent is the improvement of general manners, their ſtile, as well as their ſubjects, ſhould be levelled to underſtandings of every deſcription.

It may be ſaid, however, in favour of Johnſon, that the great law-givers of criticiſm have indulged writers of eminence in a licenſe for calling in the aid of foreign words. But this indulgence, which of right belongs only to poetry, and the more dignified kinds of proſe, is even granted to them with but a ſparing hand; "dabitur licentia ſumpta pudenter." Our Author, who in his poems has made but little uſe of this privilege, has in his proſe, extended a limited ſufferance to the moſt unqualified permiſſion and encouragement: he has preferred, on all occaſions where a choice was to be made, the remote word of Latin derivation to the received Engliſh one, and has brought in the whole vocabulary of natural philoſophy, to perplex and encumber familiar Engliſh writing. I do not ſpeak of a few words ſcattered rarely through his works, but of the general character of his ſtile appearing in every page; not of ſingle acts, but of confirmed and prevailing habits; of new-raiſed colonies, diſdaining

diſdaining an aſſociation with the natives, and threatening the final deſtruction of our language. The reader, at his firſt peruſal of the Rambler, finds himſelf bewildered in a labyrinth of long and learned words, diſtracted with foreign ſounds, and exiled from his native ſpeech, in perpetual want of an interpreter: diſguſted at the intruſion of ſo many phraſes to which he has been hitherto a ſtranger, he labours out a paſſage through the palpable obſcure, and, when he has at laſt gained the golden prize, laments that ſo much time ſhould have been waſted, in over-coming the unneceſſary obſtacles to its approach.

THOUGH this repreſentation may appear ſomewhat extravagant, yet a few ſentences ſelected from this author may ſhew that it does not miſrepreſent the feelings of ordinary readers, or exaggerate the difficulties of his ſtile. " What then can enſue but " a continual exacerbation of hatred, an unextinguiſhable feud, " and an inceſſant reciprocation of miſchief?" " When the " radical idea ſhoots out into parallel ramifications, how can a " conſecutive ſeries be formed of ſenſes in their nature collateral." " Theſe burſts of light and involutions of darkneſs, theſe " tranſient and involuntary excurſions and retroceſſions of inven- " tion." " Experience quickly ſhews the tortuoſities of imaginary " rectitude, the complications of ſimplicity, and the aſperities " of ſmoothneſs." Who could underſtand the meaning of the word NET-WORK, by reading its definition in a dictionary as " a " thing reticulated, or decuſſated, with interſtices between the " interſections?" Or who could know, that " the practice of " appending to the narratives of public tranſactions, more minute " and domeſtic intelligence," meant " filling the news-papers " with

" with advertiſements," if Johnſon himſelf had not kindly aſſiſted us with the tranſlation. Such paſſages are inconſiſtent with the cenſure paſſed in his Idler on a ridiculous citizen, who by aſſociating with ſtage players had learned a new language; and when a cuſtomer has talked longer than he is willing to hear, is made to complain that " he has been excruciated with " unmeaning verboſity." The author of the Rambler, though not a citizen, has as little claim to the privilege of ſpeaking unintelligibly.

THERE are however two occaſions on which this fault appears yet more extravagant and ridiculous. The firſt of theſe is, where perſonages of different deſcriptions are introduced as writing in their own characters; for what can be more abſurd than to ſuppoſe a ſimilarity of ſtile, and particularly where that ſtile is ſo far from a ſimple one, in the writings of perſons ſuppoſed to be of different ages, tempers, ſexes and occupations. Yet all the correſpondents of the Rambler ſeem infected with the ſame literary contagion, and the Johnſonian diſtemper to have been equally communicated to all. Thus Papilius talks of " garrulity, erratic " induſtry, and heterogenous notions dazzling the attention " with ſudden ſcintillations of conceit." " Victoria paſſes through " the coſmetic diſcipline, covered with emollients, and puniſhed with artificial excoriations." Miſocapelus tells of his " officinal " ſtate, adheſions of trade, and ambulatory projects;" and Hypertatus deſcribes the " flaccid ſides of a foot-ball ſwelling out " into ſtiffneſs and extenſion," and talks of " concentration of " underſtanding, barometrical pneumatology," and " tenuity of " a defecated air." In ſuch writings the hand of the maſter muſt be immediately perceived; the exiſtence of the imaginary correſpondents

correſpondents cannot even for a moment be believed, and the Rambler ſtands convicted of an ineffectual and unneceſſary attempt to raiſe his own conſequence by forging letters to himſelf.

The ſecond occaſion on which this fault is equally glaring, is where ordinary or perhaps mean ſubjects become neceſſary to be treated of; and a few inſtances from our author may well warrant my aſſerting that on ſuch occaſions, as he himſelf ſays leſs deſervedly of Dr. Young,—"burleſque cannot go beyond him." Thus a calamity which will not admit being complained of, is in Johnſon's language, ſuch as "will not juſtify the acerbity "of exclamation, or ſupport the ſolemnity of vocal grief:" to deny and to profeſs, are to "pronounce the monoſyllables of "coldneſs and the ſonorous periods of reſpectful profeſſion:" when the ſkillet is watched on the fire, we ſee it "ſimmer with "the due degree of heat, and ſnatch it off at the moment of "projection:" for ſun-ſet, we read "the gentle coruſcations "of declining day;" and for waſhing the face with exactneſs, we have, "waſhing with oriental ſcrupuloſity." Mean and vulgar expreſſions cannot have a more powerful recommendation than that one of the ableſt writers in the Engliſh language could only thus avoid them.

Johnson was a writer of too attentive and critical obſervation to be ignorant of this remarkable peculiarity of his own ſtile. In the laſt paper of his Rambler, where he treats of his work as a claſſical Engliſh compoſition, he takes notice of, and by a defence, which if admitted would juſtify and recommend it, ſhews himſelf not a little prejudiced in its favour.

After declaring, with ſome oſtentation, that " he has laboured " to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it " from colloquial barbariſms, licentious idioms, and irregular " combinations;" that " ſomething perhaps he has added to " the elegance of its conſtruction, and ſomething to the harmony " of its cadence;" he proceeds to ſubjoin the following paſſage: " When common words were leſs pleaſing to the ear, or leſs " diſtinct in their ſignification, I have familiarized the terms of " philoſophy by applying them to known objects and popular " ideas; but have rarely admitted any word not authorized by " former writers: for I believe that whoever knows the Engliſh " tongue in its preſent extent, will be able to expreſs his thoughts, " without farther help from other nations." The firſt of theſe reaſons for ſubſtituting, in place of a received familiar Engliſh word, a remote philoſophical one, ſuch as are moſt of Johnſon's Latin abſtract ſubſtantives, is its being more pleaſing to the ear. But this can only be deemed ſufficient by thoſe who would ſubmit ſenſe to ſound, and for the ſake of being admired by ſome, would be content not to be underſtood by others. And though, in ſome inſtances, for the ſake of tempering the conſtitutional roughneſs of the Engliſh language, this might be admitted, yet it never can be contended for in ſuch latitude, as would juſtify the practice of our author. This he well knew, and accordingly defending hard words in an eſſay in his Idler, he inſiſts largely on the ſecond plea, the greater diſtinctneſs of ſignification. " Difference of thoughts," he ſays, " will produce " difference of language: he that thinks with more extent than " another, will want words of larger meaning; he that thinks " with more ſubtilty, will ſeek for terms of more nice diſcrimi- " nation." In this argument there is certainly ſome degree of weight,

weight, and the exact appropriation and perſpicuity of Johnſon's words in ſome meaſure confirms it. But that language, which he does not admit to have ſunk beneath Milton, would ſurely have been ſufficient to have ſupported him; and, as he himſelf obſerves, " though an art cannot be taught without its proper " terms, yet it is not always neceſſary to teach the art: in " morality it is one thing to diſcuſs the niceties of the caſuiſt, " and another to direct the practice of common life." Let the nature of periodical publications determine, which ſhould be more properly the object of the author. But he is not reduced to the alternative: if the teſtimony of many Engliſh authors of eminence, confirmed experimentally by their own practice, is to be relied on, exactneſs of thought is not neceſſarily at variance with familiar expreſſion: and if this union was not impoſſible, would not ſome endeavour to effect it have deſerved the attention of Johnſon? Of Johnſon who, while his dictionary proves ſuch accurate and copious knowledge of the powers of our received words, as could not have failed of accompliſhing the patriotic taſk, however arduous, gives in his other works the ſtronger reaſon to lament, that his prejudices in favour of a vicious and affected ſtile ſhould have prevented his undertaking it.

But this fault is ſurely committed without excuſe, in every caſe where the language furniſhes a received word adequate to the diſtinct communication of the idea: and that many ſuch have innocently incurred Doctor Johnſon's diſpleaſure muſt be abundantly evident to every reader. A page of his writings, compared with one of any of our eminent Engliſh authors on the ſame ſubject, will furniſh many inſtances, which cannot be accounted for

by attention to harmony of ſound, or diſtinctneſs of ſignification: inſtances, to be aſcribed merely to that wantonneſs of habit which after quoting Congreve's declaration, that "he wrote the "Old Batchelor to amuſe himſelf in his recovery from a fit of "ſickneſs," thinks proper, a few lines after, to explain it in Johnſon's words, by ſaying, "the Old Batchelor was written in "the languor of convaleſcence." It would ſeem that the aunt of Bellaria*, who gives the writings of the Rambler to her niece for her peruſal, and promiſes to tell her the meaning of any word ſhe ſhould not underſtand, has undertaken a taſk, which the author himſelf ſuſpects to be not unneceſſary, and the reader has reaſon to apprehend ſhe will ſcarcely be able to accompliſh.

Johnson ſays indeed, he has rarely admitted any word, not authorized by former writers: but where are we to ſeek authorities for "reſuſcitation, orbity, volant, fatuity, divaricate, aſinine, "narcotic, vulnerary, empireumatic, papilionaceous," and innumerable others of the ſame ſtamp, which abound in and diſgrace his pages? For "obtund, diſruption, ſenſory or panoply," all occuring in the ſhort compaſs of a ſingle eſſay in the Rambler? Or for "cremation, horticulture, germination and decuſſation," within a few pages in his Life of Browne? They may be found, perhaps, in the works of former writers, but they make no part of the Engliſh language. They are the illegitimate offspring of learning by vanity; adopted indeed, but not naturalized, and though uſed, yet not authorized: For if uſe can ſufficiently authorize, there is no deſcription of improper words, which can be condemned. Technical words may be defended from Dryden and Milton, obſolete from Shakeſpeare, vulgar from Swift and Butler. Johnſon's fault lies in this, that he has made ſuch frequent

* Rambler, No. 191.

quent uſe of remote and abſtruſe words of Latin original, that his meaning often becomes unintelligible to readers not poſſeſſed of a conſiderable degree of learning; and whether theſe words were now firſt made by him, or having been made by others, had been hitherto denied admittance into the current language, is a matter of perfect indifference.

It muſt be allowed that theſe terms are reſtrained by our author to ſuch preciſion, that they cannot often reſign their places to others more familiar, without ſome injury to the ſenſe. But ſuch is the copiouſneſs of our language, that there are few ideas on ordinary ſubjects, which an attentive examination will find incommunicable in its ordinary words. Though we may not have a term to denote the exiſtence of a quality in the abſtract, we may perhaps find one to denote it in the concrete; and even though there may be none to expreſs any mode of its exiſtence, there may readily occur one to expreſs its direct negation. It is the buſineſs of the writer who wiſhes to be underſtood, to try all poſſible variations of the grammatical ſtructure of his ſentence, to ſee if there be not ſome which may poſſibly make known his thought in familiar words. But that this was not the practice of Johnſon, his compoſitions and his celebrated fluency afford the ſtrongeſt evidence. He ſeems to have followed the firſt impulſe of his mind in the ſtructure of his ſentence, and when he found in his progreſs no Engliſh word at hand to occupy the predetermined place, it was eaſy to ſupply the deficiency by calling in a Latin one.

Of this overbearing prejudice, which thus ſubdued a ſtrongly rational underſtanding, and miſled a judgment eminently critical,

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it may not be uſeleſs to enquire the reaſons. To the firſt and principal of theſe, no man can be a ſtranger who has ſo read the works of Johnſon as to have formed a juſt notion of the peculiar genius of the author. Poſſeſſed of the moſt penetrating acuteneſs and reſolute preciſion of thought, he delights to employ himſelf in diſcriminating what common inaccuracy had confounded, and of ſeparating what the groſſneſs of vulgar conception had united. A judgment, thus employed (as he would perhaps himſelf deſcribe it) in ſubtilizing diſtinctions, and diſſociating concrete qualities to the ſtate of individual exiſtence, naturally called for language the moſt determinate, for words of the moſt abſtract ſignifications. Of theſe common ſpeech could furniſh him with but a ſcanty ſupply. Familiar words are uſually either the names of things actually ſubſiſting, or of qualities denoted adjectively, by reference to thoſe ſubſtantives to which they belong: beſides, common uſe gives to familiar words ſuch a latitude of meaning, that there are few which it does not admit in a variety of acceptations. Johnſon, unwilling to ſubmit to this inconvenience, which, in every country, to avoid a multiplicity of terms, had been acquieſced in, ſought out thoſe remote and abſtruſe Latin derivatives, which as they had for the moſt part hitherto been uſed but once, were as yet appropriated to one ſignification excluſively. What the natural bent of his genius thus gave birth to, his ſucceſſive employments ſtrengthened to maturity. The ſchoolmaſter may plead preſcription for pedantry; the writer of a dictionary, if attached to words of any deſcription, has peculiar advantages towards ſtoring them in his memory; and if they be terms which occur but rarely, the difficulty of ſearching out their authorities imprints them more ſtrongly. The writings of Sir Thomas Browne were

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to Johnſon the copious vocabularies of the Anglo-Latin ſtile; and the numberleſs quotations from them in his Dictionary, as well as the Life of Browne, which he wrote, are proofs of the attention with which he peruſed them, and of the eſtimation in which he held their author. "Finding," as he ſays, "that our "language had been for near a century deviating towards a "Gallic ſtructure and phraſeology," he entered into a confederacy with the Latins to prevent it, without conſidering that many nations had fallen beneath their own auxiliaries. As ſome moraliſts would recommend the overcoming of one paſſion by raiſing up another to oppoſe it, he ſeems to have thought the tendency of our language towards the French would be beſt corrected by an equal impulſe towards the Latin. That he was well verſed in all the Latin learning, and minutely critical in the power of its words, is clearly manifeſted in his writings. His earlieſt work was a tranſlation of Mr. Pope's Meſſiah into Latin, and the firſt eſtabliſhment of his fame was his imitation of a Latin ſatiriſt. We find too, from Mr. Boſwell, that he continued his ſtudies in that language to a very late period, and thought it not too learned even for a female ear. Not confined ſolely to the claſſics, he quotes the obſcure remains of monkiſh learning, and has delivered preciſe deciſions on the performances of our Engliſh poets in that language. His Life of Milton more particularly, whom he might have conſidered as a rival in learning, abounds in proof that Johnſon piqued himſelf not a little on his knowledge of Latin. He oppoſes in form the ſyſtem of ſchool-education recommended and adopted by Milton: He is happy in communicating a new authority for a particular acceptation of the word "perſona;" ſuggeſts incidentally whether "vir glorioſiſſimus" be not an impure expreſſion;

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and takes eſpecial care to inform us that "vapulandus" is a ſoleciſm. Thus his accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue furniſhed him with materials to engraft into ours; and his oſtentatious deſire to diſplay that knowledge concurred with the other cauſes above enumerated to vitiate his ſtile. Determined to deviate from the Engliſh language, while his antipathy to the French reſtrained him on the one ſide, his predilection for the Latin as naturally enticed him to the other.

Yet let me not conclude this part of my ſubject with too unfavourable an impreſſion of our author. As I have ſtated fully the faults of his words, it is but candid to declare their merits. They are formed according to the exact analogy of the Engliſh language; they are forcible and harmonious; but, above all, they are determinate. Diſcriminated from each other, and appropriated each to one idea, they convey, to ſuch as underſtand the author's language, his genuine ſenſe, without ſuperfluity and without mutilation. The diſtinctions of words eſteemed ſynonimous, might from his writings be accurately collected. For thoughts the moſt definite, he has language the moſt preciſe; and though his meaning may ſometimes be obſcure, it can never be miſunderſtood.

ESSAY *on the* STILE *of Doctor* SAMUEL JOHNSON.

No. II.

By the Rev. ROBERT BURROWES, *A. M. and M. R. I. A.*

Read Nov. 13, 1786.

IT is hardly poſſible for an author who writes much to avoid a peculiarity of manner. The recurrence of thoughts, ſimilar in their reſtrictions and mutual dependance, introduces to the mind, by a natural aſſociation, the ſame arrangement and conſtruction; and the mind, diſdaining to beſtow upon words that attention which is due only to things, will be too apt, through haſte to execute its taſk, to admit the firſt expreſſions as the beſt. It deſpiſes the humble as well as tedious labour of turning back to re-examine ſentences already marked with approbation, and will not eaſily be perſuaded to vary, what conſidered ſimply in itſelf appears to have no fault. Thus from the peculiar turn of each author's thoughts, even though there ſhould be no other cauſe concurring, there will naturally ariſe a correſponding peculiarity of ſtile: a peculiarity which the powerful influence of habit makes ſo predominant, that there are very few pages, even of

our beſt writers, which to thoſe who are at all acquainted with their ſtile, do not readily betray their author. Such favourite forms or ornaments of expreſſion, ſuch peculiar modes of arranging, combining and connecting, lie within the eaſy reach of imitation; and as every writer of eminence will have many who rely on their ſucceſs in copying him for the foundation of their fame, and many who from admiration of his general excellence are led at laſt involuntarily to reſemble him, criticiſm can never be more uſefully employed than in examining theſe peculiarities of authors of acknowledged merit, and determining how far they are deſerving of praiſe or cenſure, how far they are to be imitated or avoided.

As there are no modern writings higher in public eſtimation than Doctor Johnſon's, and as there are none which abound more in appropriate marks of ſtile, there are none which can with more advantage be made the ſubject of critical enquiry. On their obvious and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, the too frequent uſe of Latin derivatives, I have already diſcourſed at large. I ſhall in this eſſay conſider ſuch other peculiarities of Johnſon's ſtile, as, though leſs apt to be taken notice of, will it is preſumed when noticed be readily recognized.

And of all theſe the merit or demerit muſt reſt with full force on Johnſon: for, however the ſtile of his compoſitions may correſpond with his ſtile of converſation, and however extraordinary and perhaps authentic the ſtories his biographers tell of his fluency may be, yet nothing in his works can fairly be aſcribed to careleſſneſs. His ſtile in writing, which he had formed early, became familiar by abundant practice, and in the courſe

courſe of a long continued life of diſſertation became alſo his ſtile of ſpeaking. His authoritative deciſions on the merit of all our Engliſh authors demand, and his conſtant employment in critical diſquiſition ſhould have enabled him to grant it without injury to his literary character, that his own ſtile ſhould be fairly ſubjected to animadverſion: nor ſhould negligence, which will never be inſiſted on in diminution of his merit, be admitted as a ſufficient plea in extenuating his faults.

As his peculiarities cannot be aſcribed to careleſſneſs, ſo neither are they the effect of neceſſity. Few of them would have appeared, had Johnſon, intent only on communicating his ideas, deſpiſed all aids of embelliſhment. But that this did not ſuit his ideas of literary perfection, we are ſufficiently informed in his remarks on the ſtile of Swift; an author who has at leaſt this merit, that he has eſcaped all thoſe faults which the critic has fallen into. The eaſy and ſafe conveyance of meaning Johnſon there declares to be "not the higheſt praiſe: againſt that inattention with which "known truths are received, it makes," he ſays, "no pro-"viſion; it inſtructs, but it does not perſuade." Our author ſeems therefore to have thought it neceſſary, in conformity with his own principle, to introduce into his ſtile certain ornaments, which, in his opinion, would prove the effectual means of captivating attention; and theſe ornaments, too laboriouſly ſought for, and uſed without ſufficient variety, have become the peculiarities of his ſtile. I ſhall comprize the principal of them under two heads, as ariſing either from his endeavours after ſplendor and magnificence, or from his endeavours after harmony; for to theſe two heads they may almoſt all be referred.

Not that it is denied, that magnificence and harmony are objects worthy an author's regard; but the means made use of to attain these, if not skilfully selected, may fail of their intended effect; may substitute measurement for harmony, and make that only pompous which was designed to be magnificent. On dignified subjects they are no doubt to be attended to, for the stile should always be proportioned to the subject; but on familiar and meaner topics they should, by a parity of reasoning, be avoided: and however well adapted to excite attention, it may be remarked, that in general they rather fix it on the expression, than on the sentiment, and too often cloy that appetite they were intended but to stimulate.

Johnson's study of splendor and magnificence, by inducing him as much as possible to reject the weaker words of language, and to display only the important, has filled his pages with many peculiarities. His sentences, deprived of those feeble ties which restrained them to individual cases and circumstances, seem so many detached aphorisms, applicable to many other particulars, and certainly more dignified as more universal. But though he may have employed this art with some advantage, it is yet hardly to be recommended. Johnson's thoughts were so precise, and his expressions so minutely discriminated, that he was able to keep the leading circumstances of the particular case distinctly in view, and in the form of an universal sentence implicitly to insinuate them to the reader: an injudicious imitator, by generalizing his expressions, might in some instances make that false which under restrictions might have been true; and in almost all, make that obscure which otherwise would have been perspicuous.

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As every ſubſtantive preſents a determinate image to the mind, and is of courſe a word of importance, Johnſon takes care to crowd his ſentences with ſubſtantives, and to give them on all occaſions the moſt diſtinguiſhed place. The inſtrument, the motive, or the quality therefore, which ordinary writers would have in the oblique caſe, uſually takes the lead in Johnſon's ſentences; while the perſon, which in connected writing is often expreſſed by ſome weak pronoun, is either intirely omitted, or thrown into a leſs conſpicuous part. Thus, " fruition left them nothing to aſk, and innocence left them " nothing to fear,"—" trifles written by idleneſs and publiſhed " by vanity,"—" wealth may, by hiring flattery or laying dili- " gence aſleep, confirm error and harden ſtupidity." This practice doubtleſs gives activity and importance, but caution muſt be uſed to prevent its exceeding the bounds of moderation. When the perſon is to be dethroned from its natural pre-eminence, it is not every quality which has ſufficient dignity to aſſume its place: beſides, in narration, or continued writing of any ſort, the too frequent change of leading objects in ſentences contributes to diſſipate the attention, and withdraw it from the great and primary one: and even in Johnſon's hands this ornament has become too luxuriant, when affections, inſtead of being perſonified, are abſolutely humanized, and we are teized with the repeated mention of " ear of greatneſs,"—" the boſom of " ſuſpicion,"—and " the eye of wealth, of hope, and of " beauty."

This attachment to ſubſtantives has led him, wherever it was poſſible by a change of conſtruction, to ſubſtitute them in place of the other parts of ſpeech; inſtead therefore of the uſual conſtruction,

conſtruction, where the adjective agrees with the ſubſtantive, he forms a new ſubſtantive from the adjective, which governs the other in the poſſeſſive caſe. Thus, inſtead of " with as eaſy an " approach," he always writes, " with the ſame facility of " approach:" inſtead of " with ſuch lively turns, ſuch elegant " irony, and ſuch ſevere ſarcaſms,"—he ſays, " with ſuch viva- " city of turn, ſuch elegance of irony, and ſuch aſperity of " ſarcaſm." When the effect produced no otherwiſe ariſes from the ſubſtantive, than as poſſeſſed of the quality which the adjective denotes, this change of conſtruction is an happy one: it expreſſes that which is neceſſary in the thought, by a neceſſary member of the ſentence; whereas the uſual form lays the whole ſtreſs of the idea on a word, which, without the ſmalleſt injury to the conſtruction, may be ſafely removed. An inſtance however may ſhew, that Johnſon ſometimes uſes it where the ſame reaſoning would ſhew it to be abſolutely improper. " Steele's imprudence of generoſity, or vanity of profuſion," he ſays, " kept him always incurably neceſſitous."—Here, ſince Steele's generoſity could not have kept him neceſſitous if it had not been exceſſive or imprudent, " imprudence of generoſity" is proper: but as his being vain of profuſion, if he had not actually been profuſe, never could have produced this effect; ſince his vanity is but the very remote cauſe of that which his profuſion would have effected, whether he had been vain of it or not, " vanity of profuſion" is an improper expreſſion.

This ambition of denoting every thing by ſubſtantives has done conſiderable violence to Johnſon's conſtructions:—" places " of little frequentation,"—" circumſtances of no elegant recital," —" with emulation of price,"—" the library which is of late " erection,"

" erection,"—" too much temerity of concluſion,"—" Phillips's " addiction to tobacco," are expreſſions of affected and ungraceful harſhneſs. This, however, is not the worſt fault ſuch conſtructions may have, for they often become unneceſſarily obſcure: as " he will continue the road by annual elongation;" that is, by compleating ſome additional part of it each year:—" Swift " now loſt diſtinction;" that is, he could not now diſtinguiſh his acquaintances. Many of the ſubſtantives too which are thus introduced, are words abſolutely foreign to the language: as " ebriety of amuſement,"—" perpetual perflation,"—" to obtain " an obſtruction of the profits, though not an inhibition of the " performance,"—" Community of poſſeſſion muſt always in- " clude ſpontaneity of production." One of our moſt uſual forms of ſubſtantives, the participle of the verb uſed ſubſtantively, to give room for ſuch introduced words he has on all occaſions ſtudiouſly avoided: Yet Dr. Louth would ſcarcely have given the rule for a conſtruction repugnant to the genius of our language; and ſome arguments will be neceſſary to prove that the words, " renewing, vaniſhing, ſhadowing and recalling," ſhould give place to " renovation, evaneſcence, adumbration and revocation," when it is conſidered, that all who underſtand Engliſh know the meaning of the former, while the latter are intelligible to ſuch only of them as underſtand Latin; but of this I have elſewhere treated fully.

Johnson's licentious conſtructions however are not to be conceived as flowing entirely from his paſſion for ſubſtantives. His endeavours to attain magnificence, by removing his ſtile from the vulgarity, removed it alſo from the ſimplicity of common diction,

diction, and taught him the abundant use of inversions and licentious constructions of every sort. Almost all his sentences begin with an oblique case, and words used in uncommon significations, with Latin and Greek idioms, are strewed too plentifully in his pages. Of this sort are the following: "I was only "not a boy"—"Part they did"—"Shakespeare approximates the "remote"—"Cowley was ejected from Cambridge"—"Brogues "are a kind of artless shoes"—"Milk liberal of curd." Such expressions it is unnecessary to mark with censure; they bear in themselves an harshness so repulsive, that easy writing must be held in more than ordinary contempt, when they are considered as patterns worthy of imitation.

Metaphorical expression is one of those arts of splendor which Johnson has most frequently employed; and while he has availed himself of all its advantages, he has escaped most of its concomitant faults. Here is no muse, which in one line is a horse and in the next a boat*; nor is there any pains requisite to keep the horse and boat from singing. Johnson presents to your view no chaos of discordant elements, no feeble interlining of the literal with the figurative. In his metaphors and similes the picture is always compleat in itself, and some particulars of exact resemblance are distinctly impressed upon the reader. What image can be more beautiful than that which represents the beginnings of madness as "the variable weather of the mind, "the flying vapours which from time to time cloud reason "without eclipsing it?" Or what more apposite than that which calls Congreve's personages "a sort of intellectual gladiators?"

* Vide Johnson's Life of Addison.

Sometimes,

Sometimes, indeed, it muſt be acknowledged, his metaphors ſucceed each other in too quick ſucceſſion, and are followed up too elaborately: but to commit this fault he was ſolicited by temptations ſcarcely to be reſiſted. Much of his life had been conſumed in enquiring into the various acceptations of each word, all of which except the primary one are ſo many metaphorical uſes of it; ſo that every word ſuggeſted many metaphors to his mind, preſenting alſo from his quotations a variety of other terms of the ſame claſs, with which it would wiſh to be aſſociated. Thus *ardour*, which in his preface to his Dictionary, he obſerves, is never uſed to denote material heat, yet to an etymologiſt would naturally ſuggeſt it; and Johnſon accordingly, ſpeaking of the "*ardour* of poſthumous fame," ſays that "ſome "have conſidered it as little better than *ſplendid* madneſs; as a "*flame kindled* by pride and *fanned* by folly." Thinking of a deep ſtratagem, he is naturally led from the depth to the ſurface, and declares "that Addiſon knew the heart of man from "the *depths* of ſtratagem to the *ſurface* of affectation." His ſubjects too were ſuch as ſcarcely could be treated of without figurative diction: the powers of the underſtanding require the aid of illuſtration to become intelligible to common readers. But to enquire how our author illuſtrates them, is to detect the greateſt and almoſt the only fault in his metaphors. "The "mind ſtagnates without external ventilation"—"An intellectual "digeſtion, which concocted the pulp of learning, but refuſed "the huſks"—"An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his "mind, fermented by ſtudy, and ſublimed by imagination." From ſuch illuſtrations common readers will, it is feared, receive but little aſſiſtance. The ſources from which his alluſions are borrowed are ſo abſtruſe and ſcientific, and his expreſſions ſo

ſtudiouſly technical, that even thoſe who moſt commend his ſimiles as appoſite, cannot pretend that many of them are explanatory.

Of the peculiarities of Johnſon's ſtile, which I propoſed to treat of under my ſecond head, as ariſing from his ſtudy of harmony, the principal I may call the parallelifm of his ſentences; which admits no clauſe, without one or two concomitants, exactly ſimilar in order and conſtruction. There is ſcarcely a page of the Rambler which does not produce abundant inſtances of this peculiarity: and what is the ornament, which, if introduced ſo often, can be always introduced happily? Or what is the ornament, however happily introduced, which will not diſguſt by ſuch frequent repetitions? Johnſon's mind was ſo comprehenſive, that no circumſtance occurred to him unaccompanied by many others ſimilar; no effect, without many others depending on the ſame or ſimilar cauſes. So cloſe an alliance in the thought naturally demanded a correſponding ſimilitude in the expreſſion: yet ſurely all ſimilar circumſtances, all the effects of each cauſe, are not equally neceſſary to be communicated; and as it is acknowledged that even a continued poem of pure iambics would diſguſt, variety muſt appear an indiſpenſably neceſſary ingredient to harmony. Were we even to admit then, that in any particular triod the conſtruction of one of its clauſes could not be altered without injuring the harmony of the ſentence, yet a regard to the harmony of the whole treatiſe will occaſionally make ſuch an alteration neceſſary.

But theſe parallel ſentences are not always faultleſs in themſelves. Sometimes, though indeed rarely, a word is uſed without a definitive

a definitive appropriation to that to which it is annexed; as in this inſtance, " Omnipotence cannot be exalted, infinity can-" not be amplified, perfection cannot be improved:" where the exact relation between amplitude and infinity, and between improvement and perfection, is not at all kept up by exaltation being applied to Omnipotence. Sometimes too words are introduced, which anſwer hardly any other purpoſe than to make the paralleliſm more conſpicuous, by adding a new member to each clauſe. Thus, in the following paſſage, " grows too ſloth-" ful for the labour of conteſt, too tender for the aſperity of " contradiction, and too delicate for the coarſeneſs of truth;" where labour, aſperity and coarſeneſs are ſufficiently implied in ſlothful, tender and delicate. Sometimes too the paralleliſm itſelf is unneceſſarily obtruded on the reader, as " quickneſs of " apprehenſion and celerity of reply," where " celerity" having preciſely the ſame meaning as " quickneſs," could only have been introduced to make up the paralleliſm: " Nothing is far-" ſought or hard-laboured" where the firſt adverb is eſſential to the ſenſe, and the laſt only to the ſound. " When two Engliſh-" men meet, their firſt talk is of the weather, they are in haſte " to tell each other what each muſt already know, that it is hot " or cold, bright or cloudy, windy or calm." Such unintereſt-ing enumerations, ſince they contribute nothing to the meaning, we can only ſuppoſe introduced, as our author obſerves of ſome of Milton's Italian names, to anſwer the purpoſes of har-mony.

It were unjuſt however not to declare, that many of his paralleliſms are altogether happy. For antitheſis indeed he was moſt eminently qualified; none has exceeded him in nicety of

 diſcernment,

diſcernment, and no author's vocabulary has ever equalled his in a copious aſſortment of forcible and definite expreſſions. Thus, in his compariſon of Blackmore's attack on the dramatic writers with Collier's, " Blackmore's cenſure," he ſays, " was " cold and general, Collier's was perſonal and ardent: Black- " more taught his readers to diſlike, what Collier incited them " to abhor." But it is uſeleſs to multiply inſtances of that which all muſt have perceived, ſince all his contraſts and compariſons poſſeſs the ſame high degree of accuracy and perfection. From the ſame cauſe may be inferred the excellence of his parallel ſentences, where praiſe-worthy qualities are ſeparated from their concomitant faults, or kindred effects are diſunited: as where he calls Goldſmith " a man who had the art of being " minute without tedioufneſs, and general without confuſion; " whoſe language was copious without exuberance, exact with- " out conſtraint, and eaſy without weakneſs." But Johnſon's triods occur ſo frequently, that I find myſelf always led aſide to wonder, that all the effects from the ſame cauſe ſhould be ſo often diſcovered reducible to the myſtical number three: I torment myſelf to find a reaſon for that particular order in which the effects are recited, and I am involuntarily delayed to conſider, whether ſome are not omitted which have a right to be inſerted, or ſome enumerated which due diſcretion would have ſuppreſſed. Surely I muſt be ſingular in my turn of thought, or this art of attention, which thus leads away from the main ſubject, cannot be an happy one.

His deſire of harmony has led him to ſeek even for the minute ornament of alliteration. Thus, he ſays, " they toil with- " out proſpect of praiſe, and pillage without hope of profit."—

Shakeſpeare

" Shakeſpeare opens a mine, which contains gold and diamonds " in inexhauſtible plenty, though clouded by incruſtations, de- " baſed by impurities, and mingled with a maſs of meaner " minerals." Alliteration indeed is ſo often caſual, and ſo often neceſſary, that it is difficult to charge it on an author's intentions. But Johnſon employs it ſo frequently, and continues it through ſo many words, as in the inſtances given above, that when we conſider too how nearly allied it is as an ornament to paralleliſm, we have I think ſufficient grounds to determine it not involuntary.

Under this head I ſhall beg leave to mention one peculiarity of Johnſon's ſtile, which though it may not have ariſen, at leaſt not entirely, from his endeavours after harmony, yet diſcovers itſelf obviouſly to the reader by its effects upon the ear; I mean the ſtudied recurrence of the ſame words in the latter part of the ſentence, which had appeared in the former; the favourite ornament of his Idler, as paralleliſms are of the Rambler, and uſed not unfrequently in the Lives of the Poets. As the uſe of it is attended with many advantages and many diſadvantages, the author who would adopt it ſhould watch it with a ſuſpicious eye. If reſtrained within the bounds of moderation, it is on many occaſions the moſt lively, conciſe, perſpicuous and forcible mode of expreſſing the thought. Since the words too at their return naturally recall to the mind the antecedent members of the ſentence, it may be conſidered as a valuable aſſiſtant in imprinting the thought upon the memory. It has alſo this additional advantage, that as unfairneſs in reaſoning often ariſes from change of terms, ſo where the terms are not changed, we are apt to preſume the reaſoning to be fair. Thus, where we

we read in the Life of Savage the following ſentence, " As " he always ſpoke with reſpect of his maſter, it is probable the " mean rank in which he then appeared did not hinder his " genius from being diſtinguiſhed or his induſtry from being " rewarded; and if in ſo low a ſtate he obtained diſtinctions " and rewards, it is not likely they were gained but by genius and " induſtry." In this inſtance the perſpicuity of the reaſoning ſeems to have been preſerved through ſuch a chain of propoſitions, merely by the artifice of returning the ſame words a ſecond time to the reader's obſervation. But the unreſtrained uſe of this art is perhaps one of the greateſt faults an author can adopt. A fault, which burleſques grave ſubjects by communicating impreſſions of levity, and on occaſions leſs ſerious, inſtead of being ſprightly degenerates into quaintneſs: which for diſquiſition and reaſoning gives us nothing but point and epigram; by a conſtrained conciſeneſs often betrays to obſcurity, and where moſt ſucceſsful, leads but to trite retorts and verbal oppoſitions, which the reader has already anticipated, and perhaps already rejected.

Were Johnſon however to be charged with negligence, it might be moſt fairly on the ſubject of harmony. There are many paſſages in his works where ſounds almoſt ſimilar are ſuffered to approach too near each other; and though ſome of theſe are too palpable to be paſſed over unnoticed by the author, yet I can never think any ear ſo incorrect as to adopt ſameneſs and monotony for harmony. Either way however Johnſon is culpable, and his alternative is either a faulty principle, or a negligence in his practice.

Yet

Yet his pages abound with memorials of close attention to harmony; unfortunately with memorials equally deserving of censure; with heroic lines and lyric fragments. Thus, he says, "Pope foresaw the future efflorescence of imagery just budding "in his mind, and resolved to spare no art or industry of "cultivation; the soft luxuriance of his fancy was already "shooting, and all the gay varieties of diction were ready at his "hand to colour and embellish it." "I will chase the deer, I "will subdue the whale, resistless as the frost of darkness, and "unwearied as the summer sun." Surely this is to revive the Pindaric licentiousness, to confound the distinction between prose and poetry, to introduce numbers by study while negligence admits rhymes, and to annihilate the harmony of prose, by giving the reader an obvious opportunity to compare it with the harmony of versification.

Indeed all the peculiarities of Johnson's style, pursued to their excess, tend to raise prosaic composition above itself: they give the admirers of Gray a fit occasion of retorting "the glittering "accumulation of ungraceful ornaments, the double double toil "and trouble, the strutting dignity which is tall by walking on "tip-toe," which have so harshly been objected to their favourite. Simplicity is too often given up for splendor, and the reader's mind is dazzled instead of being enlightened.

I shall now conclude this enquiry into the peculiarities of Johnson's style with remarking, that if I have treated more of blemishes than beauties, I have done it, not so much to pass censure on Johnson, as to give warning to his imitators. I have indeed selected my instances from his writings: but in writings

so

ſo numerous, who is there that would not ſometimes have indulged his peculiarities in licentiouſneſs? I have ſingled him out from the whole body of Engliſh writers, becauſe his univerſally acknowledged beauties would be moſt apt to induce imitation; and I have treated rather on his faults than his perfections, becauſe an eſſay might comprize all the obſervations I could make upon his faults, while volumes would not be ſufficient for a treatiſe on his perfections.

THOUGHTS *on* LYRIC POETRY.

By WILLIAM PRESTON, *M.R.I.A.*

Read December 11, 1786.

IT is with ſome diffidence that I venture to expreſs my diſſent from the opinion of a writer, whoſe ſucceſs as a poet muſt add weight and influence to his ſentiments as a critic, I mean Mr. Maſon; but falſe criticiſms falling from men of high character have a moſt pernicious effect, particularly with readers who ſeldom venture to think for themſelves. Aſſertions may be hazarded raſhly on the ſpur of the occaſion, even by the moſt judicious; and when we meet with any thing paradoxical, we ſhould not be deterred from examining it, by the terrors of a great name, leſt we ſhould miſtake unfounded aſſumptions, for good arguments, and chimerical ſpeculations, for firſt principles.

IN the following paper I propoſe to offer ſome remarks, on an opinion of Mr. Maſon's reſpecting lyric poetry, which he has

publiſhed in a note on Mr. Gray's ſeventh ode, in his edition of that author's works.

THE note to which I allude runs thus:—" This ode, to " which in the title I have given the epithet of irregular, is the " only one of the kind which Mr. Gray ever wrote, and its " being written *occaſionally* and *intended for muſic* is a ſufficient " apology for the defect. Excluſive of this, for a defect it certainly " is, it appears to me, in point of lyrical arrangement and ex- " preſſion, to be equal to moſt of his other odes. It is remark- " able that amongſt the many irregular odes which have been " written in our language, Dryden and Pope's on St. Cecilia's " day are the only ones that may properly be ſaid to have lived. " The reaſon is, as I have hinted, that this mode of compoſition " is ſo extremely eaſy, that it gives the reins to every kind of " poetical licentiouſneſs; whereas the regular ſucceſſion of " *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe*, and *epode*, put ſo ſtrong a curb on the " wayward imagination, that when ſhe has once paced in it, ſhe " ſeldom chooſes to ſubmit to it a ſecond time; 'tis therefore " greatly to be wiſhed, that in order to ſtifle in their birth a " quantity of compoſitions which are at the ſame time wild and " jejune, regular odes, and thoſe only, ſhould be eſteemed legi- " timate amongſt us."

I AM not ſurprized that ſuch a remark ſhould fall from one who has written ſo many regular odes; the moſt candid poet may feel his judgment in ſome degree warped by his poetical ſtudies; we find Dryden, at one time, a champion for rhyming tragedies, at another recommending alternate rhymes, as the moſt eligible

eligible heroic meaſure: from the ſame cauſe, and perhaps with as much juſtice in both inſtances, as Mr. Maſon ſtickles for the regular ode. I muſt own I was ſurprized to find the odes of Pope and Dryden on St. Cecilia's day claſſed together, as if the two productions were of equal merit; indeed, I was ſurprized to hear Pope's ode mentioned, as a poem which may ſtill be ſaid to live.

I AM ſomewhat at a loſs to determine whether Mr. Maſon, in the note in queſtion, means by the term *regular ode* a poem which exhibits the regular ſucceſſion of *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode*, or that merely which is confined to an uniform and regularly repeated ſtanza. If we are to apply this denomination to poems of the firſt claſs only, the number of odes is but ſmall, comparatively ſpeaking, and of that number many are faint and weak, and many ſleep; certainly, ſuch of them as have ſtood their ground are far inferior in number and merit to their irregular brethren. If we are to underſtand the term *regular ode* in the latter and more extenſive ſenſe, then it follows, that a trifling ballad or ſong will be a *regular ode*, and paſs for *ſterling*, becauſe of the uniform returning ſtanza, while no regularity of plan, no lyrical arrangement, or propriety of ſentiment, will exempt from the charge of irregularity an ode, which unluckily admits a variety of ſtanza.

THE mere regular return of an uniform ſtanza, if that ſtanza does not afford a copious interchange of melodious ſounds, is not a work of much difficulty in the execution, or merit in the

perusal; neither can it be said to impose any very strong, at least it does not impose any very useful curb, on the wayward imagination; nor will it, I presume, be found a very effectual means of excluding compositions *wild* and *jejune:* In truth, I am inclined to doubt whether this desirable end can be obtained by the adoption of *strophe*, *antistrophe* and *epode*. It would be invidious to quote particular instances, but any one who will take the trouble of turning over some of our miscellaneous collections, and other books of modern poetry, will find things called odes, which are at once wild and jejune, though trimmed and laced up in the straight waistcoat of *strophe*, *antistrophe* and *epode*, according to all the severities of the Greek masters.

Mr. Mason insists on the small number of irregular odes, which, as he says, deserve to be ranked with the *living*, as an argument against this species of composition. He confines the catalogue to narrow limits, Dryden's and Pope's odes on St. Cecilia's day. Suppose this for a moment to be just, is not Dryden's ode of sufficient excellence and dignity, to give a new form of composition, and become the archetype, and as I may say, the founder of a distinct poetical family? Is not the *Complaint* of Cowley to all intents and purposes lyrical? Do his *pindaric* odes, which are professedly irregular, deserve to be involved in the indiscriminate doom of death? Even the severe Hurd, in his Castrations of Cowley, has reprieved and admitted some of them into his collection. I know not to what class we shall refer Milton's Lycidas; to me it seems to belong to the *genus* of irregular

gular odes. Mr. William Browne, an excellent poet of the laſt century, has left a beautiful irregular ode, written on a like affecting occaſion with the Lycidas, and not much inferior to it in poetical merit: and here, by the by, I muſt mention, though ſomewhat out of place, that there is a very early ſpecimen, indeed, of the irregular ode in the Engliſh language, I mean a poem on the death of Henry the Firſt, which bears marks of the higheſt antiquity, and may be found in a collection, called The Muſe's Library. Perhaps Dryden's ſecular ode does not deſerve to be mentioned on this occaſion, though ſurely it ranks higher than Pope's ode on St. Cecilia's day. But it would be unpardonable to omit the admirable, and I muſt add, much injured Collins, who has left ſeveral beautiful ſpecimens of the *irregular lyric*, which do not deſerve to be numbered with the dead, nay, which cannot die while any regard for harmonious verſification and claſſical compoſition ſubſiſts among us.

If the irregular ode is a ſpecies of compoſition ſo extremely eaſy, is it not wonderful that it has not been more generally adopted? If it is ſuch a temptation to raſh meddlers in poetry, one might be led to ſuppoſe that the Engliſh language muſt be overflowed with irregular odes; but we find, on the contrary, that this mode of compoſition is far from being frequent among us. I believe there are in Engliſh more *regular* than there are *irregular* odes. The reaſon of this may be eaſily explained: The ſevere form of the antient regular lyric has in it ſomething elaborate, uncommon, and fit to impoſe on the minds of vulgar readers, who are apt to admire what they do not underſtand, and enables a heavy mediocrity of talents, by the uſe of a little pains and ſtudy, not only to impoſe on the world, and

acquire

acquire at leaſt a tranſient popularity, but even to impoſe on the writer himſelf. If the irregular ode has introduced compoſitions wild and jejune, the pedantry of the Anglo-Grecian lyric has contributed to the propagation of verſes that are tame and inſipid, made up of epithets and unmeaning verbiage, and diſguiſed with foreign idioms.

The introduction of *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode* into Engliſh poetry is not only unneceſſary, but unaccountable. There is not a ſingle inſtance of it in Malherbe, that great maſter of French lyric poetry, who was a very correct and claſſical writer. Ben Johnſon, a ſervile imitator of the antients, was, I believe, the firſt who introduced it in Engliſh, under the denomination of *turn*, *return*, and *counter-turn*. Among the Greeks themſelves the uſe of the *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode* was not adopted univerſally and indiſcriminately in every ſpecies of the ode. If we are to believe the antient grammarians, the models of the Greek lyric, in which this diviſion is adopted, were all compoſed to be ſung by a chorus*, and accompanied with dancing; and

* This union of poetry, muſic and dancing, is inexplicable enough to us, whoſe manners are ſo different from thoſe of the antients; however, there cannot be any doubt of the fact; to prove it, I need only adduce part of a chorus in the *Hercules furens* of Euripides, which manifeſtly alludes to it:

Ου παυσεμαι λας χαρπας
μουσαις συγκαθαμιγοις
ὑμνων συζυγιαν,
ει ζωην μιν ειμυσια;
αει δ' ει γερουσιον ενν
* * *
παρα τε βρομιον διονυσιαν
παρα τε χελυν ἐπταλονε
μολπαν και λιβυν αὐλον
ἑιπω καταπαυσομαι
μουσ ὰι μ' ἐχοιδ' σκι.

antis β.
πωιανα μεν ὀλλιαδις
ὑμνες ἀμφι πυλας
λαιδε ἐυπαιδα γονον
ιλισσεσθαι καλλιχορον.

the

the *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode*, as the etymology of their names ſeems to import, had a reference to the ſong and dance. The firſt ſtanza, called *ſtrophe*, they ſung, dancing at the ſame time; the ſecond, called the *antiſtrophe*, was ſung while the dance was inverted; the *epode* they ſung ſtanding ſtill. In corroboration of this opinion, we find that the odes which purſue this form were either in honour of the victors in ſome of the Grecian games, and intended to be ſung by a chorus at the entertainments given by the conquerors, to whom they were inſcribed, or by their friends, on account of their victories, or at the ſolemn ſacrifices made to the Gods on thoſe occaſions, as the odes of Pindar which have reached our time; or elſe make part of ſome dramatic poem, and were intended to be performed on the ſtage by a chorus, in like manner, and accompanied with dancing. Thus we ſee in what odes, and why, this complicated regularity, this threefold correſpondence of uniform and regularly repeated ſtanzas, was adopted. We find it was not employed in the Greek poetry intended for other purpoſes, and not compoſed with a view to muſic. Horace, who ſtudied the Greeks with great care, admired them exceedingly, and was a very correct writer, has not thought proper to introduce the *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode* into Latin poetry; and why? doubtleſs becauſe he well knew that they were appropriated to poetry intended to be ſet to muſic, and performed by a chorus. Is it not then a pedantic and idle affectation to adopt in Engliſh poetry a regulation which was rejected by the Latins, and not univerſally employed even by the Greeks themſelves, but only when the ſubject made it neceſſary that the ode ſhould be ſet to muſic, and performed with an accompaniment of dancing? It ſeems to me that it would

would be more rational to ſuppoſe that all our Engliſh odes were to be ſet to muſic, and to divide them into *recitative*, *air* and *chorus*.

Mr. Maſon ſeems to rely on another principle as certain and incontrovertible, in which, notwithſtanding, I cannot readily bring myſelf to acquieſce: that by encreaſing the difficulty of writing poetry, we promote its excellence; and, in particular, that by rendering a ſubordinate and merely mechanical part of poetry (for inſtance, the meaſure) more operoſe and inconvenient to the compoſer, we ſhall ſucceed in checking the growth of bad poetry; I ſay this, ſuppoſing for the preſent, but by no means admitting, the irregular ode to be, as Mr. Maſon ſuppoſes, a ſpecies of compoſition of the utmoſt facility. On this principle of exalting the beauties of poetry, by encreaſing its difficulties, which, by the by, ſeems to be juſt ſuch an experiment as if we ſhould attempt to add grace and agility to a dancer by encumbering his legs with fetters, or ſpeed a courſer by loading him with a heavy burthen; on this principle where ſhall we ſtop? What bounds of difficulty and conſequent perfection ſhall we appoint? If, in order to deter raſh meddlers, the compoſition of an ode is to be rendered more difficult, by wantonly dividing it into *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode*, why reſt there? Let the ſanctuary of good writing be ſtill more effectually ſecured from prophane intruders, by ordaining that lyric poems ſhould be always written in the ſhape of a *flute*, a *pair of wings*, an *egg*, an *ax*, or an *altar*? Some Greek writers have attempted all theſe fantaſtic forms of compoſition; but is the merit of the poems of this kind, which have reached us, in any degree proportioned

portioned to the difficulty? Has the difficulty of compoſing *rondeaus*, *acroſtics* and *charades* delivered the French language from a mob of writers at once wild and jejune? To purſue this reaſoning a little farther: It is acknowledged on all hands that French verſification is ſubject to a very ſevere and tyrannical code of rules; it is much more difficult to write poetry in that language, than it is in the Latin, Greek, Italian or Engliſh. Now, have meaner ſpirits been deterred by this difficulty? Is the number of minor poets leſs in the French than in other languages? Or is the comparative excellence of the French poetry great, in proportion to the diſcouragements which are thrown in the way of their writers, by the ſevere laws of verſification? The French writers complain of this tyrannical code as an heavy grievance, and ſo intolerable is the burthen, that ſome of their beſt poets, particularly Corneille, the firſt of French bards, violate the laws of verſification without ſcruple. Indeed I had always been taught to hold an opinion directly contrary to this poſition, and to believe, that in proportion as the execution of the mechanical part in the fine arts is eaſy, there is a greater proſpect of attaining to general excellence; and to common underſtandings this opinion would ſeem to be well-founded. The pains, ſtudy and time which will be exhauſted in adjuſting the mere mechanical part, when it is of a more difficult form, may, when that difficulty is removed, be employed on a nobler care, that of conſidering the plan, removing defects, and heightening the beauties, by correcting, retouching and poliſhing the whole. I have often heard blank verſe preferred to rhyme, on this very ground, that it impoſed leſs troubleſome reſtraints on the poet; and I had obſerved that in thoſe languages which are

 called,

called, by way of diſtinction, *poetical* (as the Italian) the mechanical of poetry is moſt eaſy, which could not be the caſe if the difficulty of compoſition were a pledge and guarantee for its excellence. I ſuppoſe it is on this principle of attaining excellence, by inducing difficulty, that Mr. Hayley has produced his comedies in rhyme; and on the ſame ſyſtem it would follow, that tragedies alſo ought to be written in *rhyme*, as being a more difficult mode of verſification; in ſhort, if by enhancing the difficulty of poetical compoſition you ſhould leſſen the number of bad poets, will you not leſſen the number of good ones? There is greater merit, certainly, in the attainment of excellence in ſomething very difficult; but in ſuch a caſe the number of excellent productions will be ſmall in proportion.

The more I conſider the introduction of *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode* into the Engliſh language, the more am I ſtruck with the impropriety of it; on what principle of reaſon are we required to adopt the regulations of compoſition, which prevailed in a dead language, of a ſtructure wholly different from our own, and with the true pronunciation of which we are not fully acquainted? It ſeems to be very unjuſt, to impoſe on Engliſh poets the ſame ſtrictneſs, with regard to the ſtanza, and ſtructure of the ode, which prevails in Pindar, and the chorus of the Greek tragedy. The genius of their language does not furniſh the Engliſh writers with the ſame inſtruments and means of facilitating their compliance with the law. 1, Both the Greek and Latin languages have a great advantage in the bold and frequent inverſions of words, which they not only permit, but require; this muſt have aſſiſted the poet amazingly in attaining

ing an harmonious arrangement of words, and a rich and eaſy verſification. 2, The Greek language admitted a variety of dialects, which the poet might intermix, as ſuited his convenience; this gave a greater choice and variety of ſynonimous ſounds, and greatly facilitated the taſk of compoſition. 3, The Latin poet found the ſame convenience in poetical licenſe; but the Greek language allowed it in a ſtill higher degree, more freely indeed than any language I know, except the Italian. Now this privilege is very ſparingly, if at all, indulged to an Engliſh writer, whoſe taſk in verſifying is therefore ſo much the more difficult. 4, Both the Greek and Latin lyric poets took the liberty of ending the line in the midſt of a word, if the verſification happened to require it, as you may ſee in every page of Horace and Pindar; indeed, there are in Virgil inſtances of ſuch a licenſe, even in heroic verſe. A liberty of this ſort would not be endured in Engliſh; I queſtion whether even the charms of the *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode* could reconcile it to thoſe who want the true antiquated claſſic ear. 5, The antients went ſtill greater lengths; there are inſtances of a ſtanza or *ſtrophe* ending in the middle of a word, and the remainder carried over to the next ſtanza; as for example, in the ſecond *antiſtrophe* of the third Olympic of Pindar, which ends in the middle of a word, and the ſecond *epode*, which begins with the remaining ſyllable:

δὴ τοῖ᾽ ες γαιαν πέρευειν Δύμᾳ ὁρμαὶ
επῳδᾳ β
ν᾽ Ισχιαν νιν. ενθα Λαΐδες, &c.

Having hazarded theſe curſory remarks on the critical opinions contained in the note above-mentioned, permit me to add a

few arguments in favour of the irregular ode. In the firſt place, it has the ſanction of claſſic authority to recommend it; the antients, our great, and indeed inimitable maſters in poetry, they, who impoſed every neceſſary curb on the wayward imagination, and were not often guilty of wild or jejune writing, the illuſtrious antients loved and practiſed this ſpecies of compoſition. The moſt celebrated and ſublime of Pindar's works were irregular odes, I mean his *Dithyrambics*; on theſe, though they have unfortunately periſhed in the wreck of time, his reputation as a poet was moſt eſſentially founded. We have the ſuffrage of as good a critic as he was a poet, both as to their merit and their bold irregularity:

> Seu per audaces nova Dithyrambos
> Verba devolvit, Numeriſque fertur
> Lege ſolutis.
>
> HORACE.

THE antient grammarians and critics recognize the *polymetra* and *pammetra* of the antients, in which verſes of all different meaſures were employed, without any uniform order or connexion. Claudian, Terentianus Maurus, and Martianus Capellus, have all written lyric poems, each of which takes in a variety of different ſtanzas; that of Claudian was written on the marriage of the Emperor Honorius. If we are to believe an ingenious French critic *, the ſecular ode of Horace was an irregular one, or to ſpeak more correctly, a *multiform* lyric, embracing a free variety of different ſtanzas. Whether the con-

* Sanadon.

jecture

jecture of Mr. Sanadon, as to the junction of the ſeveral parts which he brings together, be well or ill founded, it ſerves to ſupport my argument, as it ſhews that in the opinion of a learned man and a good critic the irregular ode was by no means alien from the correct genius of claſſic poetry.

We may alſo alledge the example of the Italian lyric poets in favour of the irregular ode; there are a great number of beautiful compoſitions of that ſpecies in their language, particularly by Chiabrera and Metaſtaſio, a writer to whom the epithets of wild and jejune can hardly be applied with any propriety. Fontaine, among the French, may be conſidered as a great maſter in the irregular lyric. Among us, the correct and laborious Ben Johnſon, as he was the firſt importer of the *ſtrophe*, *antiſtrophe* and *epode*, has given us alſo the firſt Engliſh precedent of an irregular ode, if I miſtake not, in the poem on the burning of his works.

But why reſort to *precedent* for a juſtification of the *irregular ode?* I may entrench myſelf in ſtronger ground, the internal evidence of its merit, and the obvious advantages which reſult from this ſpecies of compoſition. Firſt, it leaves the poet at liberty to follow the order and connexion of his ideas, and to expreſs them in the moſt apt and forcible manner. He is not obliged to ſacrifice ſtrength and energy to ſtanza, to become a literary Procruſtes, and torture out ſome thoughts through a nerveleſs extent of prolix tenuity, while others are proportionably cut and cramped, to make them fit the ſtanza. He is not ſtopt ſhort, in the very heat and *acme*, of compoſition, as it were

by

by a great gulf, or obliged to introduce alien or unneceſſary ideas, in order to ſquare his matter with his meaſure, and preſerve the preconceived diviſion of his poem into partitions of a certain unvarying length. The ſtanza is commenſurate to the ſenſe, and exhibits nothing redundant, nothing incoherent or disjointed; the thought occupies juſt as much room as it deſerves, and no more, while the poet has it in his power, to expreſs it, as fully, or as conciſely as he thinks proper.

Secondly. Add to this, that the irregular ode requires no ſupernumerary or expletive epithets to eke out lines, none of thoſe unmeaning ſubſervient lines, that are introduced merely to eke out ſtanzas, and of which ſome of our modern regular odes exhibit ſuch melancholy inſtances; in ſhort, the irregular ode is not obliged to ſacrifice a juſt arrangement, clear expreſſion, or harmonious verſification, to a chimerical and pedantic regularity, which has no foundation in true harmony, and is wholly foreign from the genius of our language.

Thirdly. You will pleaſe to conſider, that if the author of a regular ode has a bad ear, and is unfortunate in the choice of the ſtanza, his readers muſt take it, for better for worſe, through the whole poem, a grievance, to which the irregular ode is not liable; for there, if one ſtanza ſhould be unhappily fancied, or inharmonious, we have a proſpect of being relieved, and changing for the better in the next; perhaps too, the ear, in an ode of any length, may feel itſelf cloyed with the uniformity of a ſtanza ſo frequently repeated, and be relieved and gratified by the various melody of the irregular ode.

Fourthly.

Fourthly. I muſt further obſerve, that although we ſhould allow the compoſition of the irregular ode, to be, as Mr. Maſon is pleaſed to aſſert, more eaſy, it impoſes on the poet a neceſſity of verſifying with greater care, and ſatisfying the ear with a melody more full and compleatly rounded. The harmony of verſification cannot ſo eaſily make itſelf to be felt by the reader, when the ſtanza comes in a new and unforeſeen form, as when the ear is habituated, and *broken*, as I may ſay, to the expected march of an uniformly repeated ſtanza. When the hearer is prepared for the return of the pauſe at regular intervals, he learns to miſtake the mere technical arrangement of the lines for harmonious verſification, and hardly allows himſelf to enquire, whether the ſtop is judiciouſly placed, or the period duly filled, ſo as to leave the ear perfectly ſatisfied. In the irregular ode there is no ſuch deception, the ear is not impoſed on, and any fault in the verſification will be immediately perceived.

Fifthly. A correſpondence of the ſound with the ſentiment is certainly a very great beauty, and the poet ſhould endeavour to obtain it, whenever it may be had, without ſacrificing more important things. This beauty may ſometimes reſult from the happy force of a ſingle word, ſometimes it is produced by the ſtructure and cadence of a ſingle line, but is effected moſt forcibly and moſt generally by the arrangement and ſymmetry of a whole period *. Now, I believe it cannot be denied, and therefore

* Example of the firſt:

Procumbit humi bos.

Of the ſecond:

Monſtrum

fore I ſhall not waſte words to prove, that a free ſtanza, which may be varied at will, and made light and airy, ſlow and plaintive, or ſwelling and ſonorous, according to the ſubject matter, will give the poet a much better chance of attaining this excellence, whatever may be its value. The judicious break, the happy pauſe, the apt change of cadence, the long majeſtic march and energy divine, may all in their turns be excluded by a ſervile adherence to the uniformity of ſtanza; and I cannot think of a ſingle advantage, which attends this uniformity excluſively, except that of enhancing the difficulty of compoſition.

Such being the advantages which attend the irregular ode, it ſeems to be rather immaterial to enquire into the comparative difficulty of writing it; I ſhall only obſerve, that being ſimple and unaffected in its form, and diſclaiming every thing elaborate and artificial, it is ſuppoſed to be much eaſier than in truth it is, and leſs credit is given to the author of an irregular ode for the pains and ſtudy he employs, than to thoſe, who deal in more operoſe forms of poetry.

Monſtrum horrendum informe ingens cui Lumen ademptum.

Sola in ſiccâ ſecum ſpatiatur Arenâ.

Of the third:

She bids you,
All on the wanton ruſhes lay you down,
And reſt your gentle head upon her lap,
And ſhe will ſing the ſong that pleaſeth you,
And on your eye-lids crown the God of Sleep,
Charming your blood with pleaſing heavineſs.

Shakespeare.

It

It cannot be denied, that a ſpecies of compoſition which adopts the conſtruction of the *rythmus*, and even the ſound of particular words to the ſubject, muſt have its foundation in the genuine undepraved feelings of human nature. I have not a doubt within my mind of the irregular ode being the firſt form of compoſition adopted by mankind, in their firſt wild attempts at literature. Poetry has ever been the delight of men in the firſt ſtages of ſociety: the earlieſt recitals of events among them have been in verſe; this ariſes from the connexion between certain ſounds and the feelings of the mind, as well as the memory. The firſt literary production, in an unpoliſhed nation, where the pure dictates of nature prevailed, was a poem, and that poem an irregular ode. Whether the ſubject of the rude minſtrelſy was the feather-cinctured chiefs, or duſky loves, the untutored feelings of the heart teaching expreſſions, and ſuggeſting ſounds attempered and attuned to that ſubject, the ſtanza varied with the ſenſe, and the ſpontaneous deſcant became an irregular ode. I am very confident, that the death ſong and the war ſong, which have ſuch an influence on the ſpirits of American warriors, are irregular odes; and I am confirmed in my opinion, by finding that ſeveral ſpecimens of the antient poetry of uncivilized nations bear this form. In Scheffer's Hiſtory of Lapland you will find two inſtances of the irregular ode, which have great poetical merit, and are well known by the Engliſh tranſlations of them.

I shall conclude with expreſſing a wiſh, that theſe haſty reflections may be the means of exciting ſome poetical genius to make trial of a ſpecies of compoſition, which, in my mind, is peculiarly ſuſceptible of true ſublimity.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have ventured, by way of note, to ſubjoin an irregular ode, in which I have endeavoured to reduce into practice ſome of the principles laid down in the foregoing eſſay; how I have ſucceeded in the attempt to illuſtrate my doctrine, the candid reader muſt determine; perhaps, the example, inſtead of ſtrengthening my theory, will be quoted as a ſtrong juſtification of Mr. Maſon's aſſertions.

IRREGULAR

IRREGULAR ODE *to the* MOON.

I.

CHANGEFUL orb, myſterious pow'r,
Look from the meridian tow'r,
Where, with thy lov'd Endimion biding,
Morpheus keeps
The fount of dewy ſleeps,
The boy's ſoft eyes in downy trances hiding,
And wreaths around his head
No common flow'rs, that bright and gay
Court Aurora's wanton ray,
Or bold and obvious o'er the field
To vagrant gales their flaunting boſoms yield;
But flow'rs, a ſacred birth, that chaſtly bloom,
Drink the moiſture of the gloom,
And in the morn expire, within their virgin bed;
Or bands of vapour light
As Goſſamer, and white
As drifted ſnow,
And lucid as the dawn,
Or gaily-tinctur'd fillets drawn
From Heav'n's aſſuring bow.

II.

Changeful orb, the ſong inſpire,
Deſcant bold, unwonted fire;
Let the numbers range, like thee
In harmoniz'd variety;
Let me feel thy potent ſpell,
Let thy magic influence dwell
On my brain,
And vibrate thoughts, and kindle words,
And teach the full-reſounding chords,
To ſpeak the wonders of thy proud domain.
When ſeated, like a youthful queen,
By meaner beauties circled round,
'Midſt heav'nly choirs in ſtate majeſtic ſeen,
Thou com'ſt with light imperial crown'd,
The ſpirits, that with guiding hand
Planets roll, and ſtars command,
Pour the choral warblings wide,
Bid the deep melodious tide
From orb to orb, from ſphere to ſphere,
The floating waves of muſic bear;
The liquid notes thro' ſpace unbounded thrill,
And ſun and earth and ſtars the diapaſon fill.

III.

From the golden fount of morn,
Riſing with repleniſh'd horn
To pour the floods of undulating light,
O'er the level plains of night;

Thou

Thou doſt, with divided care,
Thrid the mazy path in air;
And now thy ſiſter earth with fond affection tend,
Now to the ſun with humble rev'rence bend,
And oft return, with kind delay,
And often ſeek, as lovers uſe,
Some amorous excuſe,
Near the kindred orb to ſtay.

IV.

Hark! thy pied courſers beat
The ſtarry-pav'd retreat,
With ſounding hoof, and roll'd thro' many a cloud
That the ſilver axles ſhroud,
Half reveal'd,
Half conceal'd,
Thy glitt'ring chariot moves from far;
While, beneath, in frolick maze,
Glancing quick the meteor plays,
And elemental ſquadrons ruſh to war.
It moves, it daſhes round the treaſures
Of future miſt, and hail, and ſtorm, and rain
Heap'd along th' etherial plain.
Lightly o'er the ſky
Diſperſt they fly,
Or ſeeking earth in gentleſt ſhow'rs,
Bathe, but bruiſe not vernal flow'rs,
And feed Pomona's hope, and ſhepherd's luſty pleaſures.

V.

Oft in thy path thou meet'ſt the wain of night;
At firſt, with wild affright,
She ſtays her duſky team,
Fearful, leſt the God of Day,
With rude uſurping beam,
Had ruſh'd, to ſeize her old legitimate ſway;
But ſoon diſcerns, in thee,
Th' aſſociate of her reign,
O'er th' illimitable waſte domain;
And now, from terror free,
In gratulation bland,
Her dewy gifts ſhe pours, with bounteous hand.
Diſtill'd from baneful flow'rs,
The tribute falls in chilly ſhow'rs.
From ſteaming mine, or putrid fen,
From noiſome cells of dying men,
The city's croud, the reeking forge,
The cavern'd vent, where inward flames diſgorge,
Empoiſon'd elements ariſe,
Night, along th' expanſive ſkies,
In urns of lead collects them all,
Concenter'd bane, on earth to fall;
The cold ſolanum, deadly yew
Circled round with vapours blue,
And ev'ry plant that Colchos knew,

The

The copious ſeeds of evil drain
By thee ſublim'd;—each verdant vein
Labours with juice malign and dark,
That taints the vital flood, and kills the genial ſpark.

VI.

Many a ſubtle ſprite
Floats in thy magic light,
Sailing wanton here and there,
Touching wide at ev'ry ſphere;
And, as the bee, with chemic pow'r,
Some virtue draws from ev'ry flow'r,
Each, in his voyage, thro' the deeps on high,
From ev'ry lucid orb that rolls along the ſky,
Myſterious charms, and ſtellar things
Of high pervading influence brings,
Then ſtoops for good or ill to men,
And thro' their pores
Inſtils the wonder-working ſtores;
They nimbly courſe, they throb, they beat,
Thro' ev'ry vital ſeat;
Swifter than glancing thought
Some ſtrange effect is wrought,
That calculation ſhames, and ſtudy's vauntive ken.

VII.

When thou would'ſt thy poiſons blend,
And on earth infection ſend,

By

By the halo round
In a magic circle bound,
Thy beams retire;
And, mix'd and temper'd there
With exhalations breath'd from Saturn's ſphere,
Contagious blaſt and livid death tranſpire.
But now, on milder purpoſe bent,
Thou bid'ſt the noxious damps recede,
And forth thy gracious meſſengers are ſent,
With ſilver light to clothe the mead;
Along the dewy green,
Where fairy prints are ſeen,
Along the mountain's hoary ſide,
Along the ſtreams that ſmoothly glide,
O'er the hamlet, o'er the lea,
O'er the gently ſwelling ſea,
Where they tremble, where they play,
O'er the ſpire, and caſtle grey,
The waving trees, the ſullen waſte,
Thy beams, a gorgeous robe, their floating tiſſue caſt.

VIII.

To thee the ſcreech-owl cries,
The wolf to thee, and all the tribes of prey,
That ſhun the honeſt day,
And ſhrink from human eyes.
They call thee not to gild the midnight hour;
They deprecate thy pow'r;

They

They call thee, with a duſky cloud,
Thy beauteous face to ſhroud ;
'Till the nightly ſpoil is won,
'Till the feaſt of blood is done,
'Till the hand of ſleep is ſpread
O'er the eye-ball glaring red,
And deep within his den the glutted ſavage lies.
Nor beaſts alone that prowl for food,
More ſavage men thine influence feel :
Thy virgin preſence daunts
The robber, in his haunts ;
Th' aſſaſſin ſtays th' uplifted ſteel,
And, when he ſees the victim nigh,
And when the poniard thirſts for blood,
Smote by thy ſacred eye,
He feels an icy dart
Transfix his coward heart,
And flies.

IX.

At thine awful call,
From their wat'ry hall,
Where pillar'd waves ſuſtain the dome,
And fretted vaults of ſculptur'd foam ;
The riſing Tritons pipe around,
Their ſiſter Nereids at the ſound advance,
They join in myſtic dance,
And roll the treaſures of the vaſt profound,

An off'ring due to thee,
Whate'er thine influence be,
Apparent queen,
Of ſpells, and myſtic works, and witchery unſeen.

X.

Ha!—it flaſhes on my brain—
Give me—give ſome horrid ſtrain.—
Th' incumbent air confeſſes
The baneful freight,
Of lunar beams,
Shot forth in viewleſs ſtreams;
And, with unwonted weight,
The brain to chaos preſſes.
Æther falls—it cruſhes
Thought—the blood with tide unequal ruſhes,
Hurried, hurried thro' the veins,
Throbs, and wild tumultuous pains,
Fiercely thrilling, keenly beating,
With infernal ardours heating;
And now—ſubſiding to a leaden flow
Still and languid, cold and low,
The black infected fluids feebly creep,
Like thoſe Lethean ſtreams, where ghoſts for ever weep.

XI.

Madneſs, with her moody band,
Owns thy pleni-lunar hand;

Her

Her matted locks in wild amazement ſtare;
With fiery red her eye-balls glare;
Her mouth ſuffus'd with bloody foam,
In airy voids her glances roam
To ſeek the forms of pain;
And ah! no voids to madneſs—ſhe
Peoples them all with dire variety;
Demons circle round her head,
Harpies tend her thorny bed,
And lakes of fire expand, and ſeas of blood,
And fury paſſions jar,
With wild tempeſtuous war,
And ſhapeleſs horrors riſe, and ſhades that kill,
And ever-varying clouds of nameleſs ill,
Along the dire horizon brood:
A thouſand forms of guilt, remorſe and pain,
All hideous hateful things compoſe her ſullen reign.
Stranger to repoſe,
A deadly pale her hollow cheek o'erflows;
Smote by the ſummer's ſun and winter's wind,
The reſtleſs corſe with eager famine pin'd;
And now, with rending hand her hair ſhe graſps,
Now to her naked breaſt the galling chain ſhe claſps.
Madneſs, I know thee by thy yell,
Eldeſt born of hell.

XII.

Oft, at midnight hour,
Madneſs, I've mus'd beſide thy bow'r.

The walls preclude the human ſight,
The roof alone receives the light;
From the living tomb,
Thro' the ſilent gloom,
Faintly darts a ſickly gleam;
The nightly taper ſends a beam,
To mark the chamber of diſmay,
Where, remov'd from light of day,
The tortur'd wretch is bound;
No parent, friend, or conſort nigh,
No ſoothing hand, no pitying eye,
The clanging whips reſound,
The horrid keeper's frown is there,
The ſhrieks of rage, and pain, and fear;
O piteous was that moan!
And now, a deeper groan
Succeeds—the ſtruggle of impriſon'd breath,
The long-drawn note of agonizing death.

XIII.

Pauſe, oh! pauſe, thou din of fear;
Thro' the darkneſs gliding mild,
Far other ſtrains I hear,
Sweet as woodland notes and wild;
Strange melody—they ſink—and now they ſwell;
Tales of unconſcious miſery they tell;
Burſts of fairy muſic flow,
Softly ſoothing ſounds impart
Pangs, that harrow up the heart,
More than ſhrieks of woe,

More,

More, than conflicting nature's cry,
When direſt forms of death are nigh;
When torments ſearch the quiv'ring vein,
And weary life contends with pain;
They tell, how very ſoon,
In happy being's noon,
In vernal beauty's roſeat pride,
When hope with promiſe warm,
And pleaſure's halcyon charm,
In ſmiling proſpect, ſhow'd the level tide;
A ſultry blight, a livid flame,
Devouring madneſs came,
And challeng'd for her own the bud of youth,
And teeming gems of piety and truth,
And bade her ruthleſs demons rove,
With hurried ravage, thro' the gentle mind,
And tear that breaſt, by Heav'n aſſign'd,
The fair unſullied ſhrine of innocent love.

XIV.

But frenzy chief, with fierce controul,
Goads, goads the tuneful ſoul;
Lo! by her hand, in ſhiver'd fragments hurl'd,
The ſacred mirror, that expreſt
The maker's image, full confeſt,
In faireſt forms of this ſublunar world;
The feelings all in outrage borne;
The wond'rous net perplex'd and torn,

Where

Where mem'ry erſt, by genius taught,
Immortal viſions caught;
A viewleſs train, the furies ſpread
Their mantle o'er the poet's head;
Hell-painted texture, warping round
A curtain cloſe, a gloom profound;
With horrid ſtrains all holy things they chace,
And pour th' expanſive veil o'er nature's goodly face.
No more, the mind, with grateful change,
Th' ideal train arrays;
Fancy no more, in ample range,
With young creation plays;
One dread unvaried form is nigh,
And fills, for ever fills the faſcinated eye.

XV.

Oh! dim eclipſe of reaſon's light!
Diſaſtrous night!
Without all hope of day!
When o'er the moon terreſtrial ſhades prevail,
And plunge in blood her viſage pale,
With pious hand a votive croud
Claſh the pealing cymbol loud,
To free the ſtruggling ray;
And ſolemn ſtrains, and mutter'd ſpells reſound,
To chace the ſpirits of the vaſt profound,
That riſe, with impious pow'r,
To ſeize her hallow'd bow'r,
And give the realms of night to Stygian ſhades a prey.

But

But ſay, what ſtrain ſhall wiſdom find,
What ſpell, to free th' eclipſing mind?
That Hebrew minſtrel's hand of yore,
The troubled ſpirit could reſtore,
The virtuous numbers flow'd like precious balm,
And o'er the wounded ſoul diffus'd an holy calm;
They flow no more.

XVI.

O moon! thy radiant ſtreams I drink,
Awake to feel, and calm to think,
I ſee thine orb of ſilver wane,
I ſee thee fill thy creſcent horn,
I ſee thee chaſe the ſtarry train,
Slowly melting into morn,
Enjoy thy charms, and hail thy ray,
Free from the terrors of thy ſway:
But ſhould'ſt thou, in thy future path,
Behold me mark'd by heav'nly wrath,
A ſpectacle, to ſhow mankind
The melancholy waſte of ruin'd mind;
Should madneſs come, with horrid phantaſms fraught,
To taint the ſource of thought;
And blear illuſions ſenſe invade,
And notions vain the mind o'erſhade,
Soon may thy ſilken luſtre wave
O'er my new-made grave.

ANTIQUITIES.

An Account of an antient INSCRIPTION *in* OGAM CHARACTER *on the Sepulchral Monument of an* IRISH CHIEF, *diſcovered by* THEOPHILUS O'FLANAGAN, *Student of T. C. D. Communicated by the Rev.* WILLIAM HAMILTON, *F. T. C. D. Secretary to the Committee of Antiquities.*

PURSUANT to the requeſt and directions of your academy, in the beginning of laſt autumn I went to the county of Clare, in order to conduct Edward William Burton, Eſq; of Cliffden in that county, to a monument of antiquity which I had the good fortune to diſcover five or ſix years before on a mountain, named Mount Callan: of this I had the honour to preſent a memorial to Colonel Vallancey in the year 1784; but as indeed I had not then a ſufficient knowledge of the Ogam character to enable me to give a critical interpretation of the inſcription, I beg leave now to offer to the Royal Academy the reſult of an attentive examination of it ſince that time.

Read December 19, 1785.

HAVING from my earlieſt days been pretty well acquainted with the ſeveral dialects of the Iriſh language, I took great

pleaſure in reading many of the legends, written on the exploits of the Iriſh Fenii in proſe, as well as thoſe in verſe aſcribed to Oſſian. In one of the latter I met the following paſſage, viz. " The fierce and mighty Conan was not in the deſperate " battle of Gabhra; for in May, the preceding year, the daunt- " leſs hero was treacherouſly ſlain by the Fenii of Fin, at an " aſſembly met to worſhip the ſun:—His ſepulchral monument " was raiſed on the North Weſt!—His wailing dirge was ſung! " —And his name is inſcribed in Ogam characters on a flat " ſtone on the very black mountain of Callan*!"

Being, at this time, pretty well acquainted with the alphabetical ſcale of the Ogam character, as it is given in Mc. Curtin's grammar, but not having ſeen any thing written in it, I very much longed for an opportunity to try my ſkill in decyphering: To ſatisfy this deſire, as well as to gratify my curioſity, I ſet off with a companion from Ennis to viſit the monument ſo particularly ſpecified by the poem; Mount-Callan being only from eight to ten miles diſtant, North Weſt, from the place of our departure.

When we came within ſight of the mountain my expectations were exceedingly raiſed, imagining I could ſoon feaſt my eyes

* Ni raib an Laoch fraochda Conan, an Gabhra 'ſan trean dail;
Am Bealtaine an Bliadhain roimhe, aig Coine adhartha na Greine;
Ro torchar an Curadh nar tim, a Fiongail le Fianaibh Fin!—
Ro cloidh a Feart thiar bo thuaigh;—a Cluitne Caointe bo diol truaigh!—
'Sta Ainim Ogam air lic blaith, i ſliabh comh-dubh Callain.
See the Poem, entitled The Battle of Gabhra.

with

with the inſcription. For, at the diſtance of about a mile North Eaſt from the high road leading from Ennis to Ibrican, I perceived (as I thought) a ſquare rock, which bore the awful appearance of a monument, on the Leitirmoylan (that is, the South Eaſt) ſide of the mountain. I haſtened my pace; but, on coming up to it, how much was I diſappointed, finding it to be a large Druid altar, without the ſmalleſt traces of any characters appearing thereon!

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſappointment, ſtill I was determined to perſevere, and traverſed a long range of the mountain to no purpoſe. At length applying to a cottager hard by, I aſked him whether he knew of any other ſtone on the mountain beſides the altar, which bore any reſemblance to a monument, or that appeared to have an inſcription on it? He told me that he obſerved one not unlike a tomb-ſtone, having ſtrokes engraved thereon very unlike letters, at the ſide of a ſmall lake, about a mile North Eaſt of the altar. To this, at my requeſt, he directed me; and on my arrival there, all my anxiety was done away by a ſucceſsful diſcovery of the wiſhed-for monument.

I HAD taken no grammar with me, and having the rules of decyphering but imperfectly in memory, I was not thoroughly well-prepared to collect the entire ſenſe of the inſcription. However, I made ſome attempt even then towards an interpretation, which did not materially differ from the firſt reading given in this paper, for the inſcription admits of five, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. My explication was then, "Beneath this

"ſtone

" ſtone is Conan the fierce the long-legged*;" and the true reading is, " Beneath this ſtone is laid Conan the fierce the " nimble-footed †."

HAVING thus fully gratified my curioſity, which alone was the purpoſed end of my journey at that time; I returned home, well pleaſed with my ſucceſs, and communicated it to my friends, to whom it afforded a few days converſation concerning antiquities, to my no ſmall credit as the diſcoverer.

THIS credit, however, was ſoon after in much danger of being ruined, in conſequence of the ſuperſtition and folly of the neighbouring peaſants, who had very extraordinary traditions of Conan's interment. For they held it as fact, that, on opening his grave, this wild inhoſpitable mountain would at once become a fertile plain—That a beautiful city, which they imagined lay inchanted in the lake, would be opened by a key which they ſaid was buried with him—and that a great maſs of golden treaſure was alſo to be acquired. Theſe enormous expectations were exceedingly raiſed on ſeeing ſtrangers make ſuch diligent ſearch after this monument.

I HAD an alarming proof of the effects of theſe idle opinions in the late journey which I made to the mountain of Callan, at the inſtance of your Academy, in the beginning of Autumn 1785. For when Mr. Burton and I arrived at the ſpot where I had ſeen

* Fan licſi ta Conan Colgac cos-fada.

† Fan li da fica Conan Colgac cos-obmda.

it

it before, I was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation for ſome time, my object not appearing in view, when I was confident it ſhould. This was occaſioned by a contrivance of ſuch of the peaſants as had diſcovered it themſelves, and by ſome means came to be appriſed of my viſit. For (in expectation of an opportunity to enrich themſelves, or of being rewarded for ſhewing it) they had covered the ſtone all over with heath, the better to conceal it, and diſappoint my ſearch: However, as I well knew the particular ſpot, I was fortunate enough to baffle their concerted plan, and execute the purpoſe of my deputation, by ſhewing it to Mr. Burton, who made an accurate drawing of the ſtone, and tranſmitted the ſame to Colonel Vallancey.

As I imagined myſelf the firſt perſon led by curioſity to viſit this monument, I congratulated myſelf much in the good fortune of the diſcovery; but Mr. Burton has informed me that a Mr. Barclay, who lived ſome time ago in that county, viſited it from the ſame motive, being directed thereto by the papers of the late Michael Comyn, Eſq; who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Callan, and had made the diſcovery a good while before. I make no doubt but this is fact; for Mr. Comyn was celebrated for his knowledge of Iriſh antiquities. He made a tranſlation of Keating, which he intended to publiſh, but death prevented the execution of his deſign, and the manuſcript has been ſince fatally loſt*.

* I have read an elegant romance of his compoſition in Iriſh, wherein he gives an account of moſt of the antiquities of the weſtern part of the county of Clare; and in ſpeaking of the before-mentioned altar, he ſays it was dedicated to the ſun, and that the natives in heathen times aſſembled there on every 1ſt of May, which they kept a feſtival, to offer ſacrifice to that deity.

THERE was indeed another gentleman in the county of Clare, a Mr. Lloyd, who publiſhed an account of that country, in which he made mention of Conan's monument on Mount-Callan; but as his explication of the inſcription is exactly in the words of my firſt effort to that purpoſe, I am apt to believe it was from hearing what account I had given of it, rather than from any ſearch or diſcovery of his own; for his publication appeared juſt about the time of my firſt viſit to the monument.

AFTER Mr. Burton and I had returned from the mountain, having taken off the inſcription very exactly, we endeavoured to decypher it according to the rules given in Colonel Vallancey's grammar for reading the Ogam character; and after we had gone through the entire proceſs, I was not a little ſurprized to find it differed, in ſome meaſure, from what I held in memory ſince I formerly ſaw it. While I was ſtill muſing over it, Mr. Burton, calling to mind that the Phœnicians, from whom the Iriſh derived their origin, generally wrote from the right hand to the left, took the letters backward, that is, in a contrary direction from that in which we decyphered them; and after he had arranged them from left to right, not being converſant in the Iriſh language himſelf, aſked me what ſenſe would they make? I found no difficulty in anſwering his queſtion, and by this means a ſecond reading was found, which proved to be a continuation of the former ſenſe. And thus it lay determined until my arrival in Dublin, where I had an opportunity of ſtudying it ſtill more, and ſoon found the advantage of ſo doing; for upon conſulting the book of Ballimote, in the hands of Colonel Val-
ncey, I found there were different ſcales of the Ogam cha-
n each of which the number of ſimilar lines, on what-
ever

ever ſide drawn, did not exceed five. Wherefore making myſelf as well acquainted with the ſcale as I poſſibly could, and again applying myſelf to the ſtudy of the inſcription, I found it read the five different ways following, viz. 1ſt, " Beneath this ſepul-" chral monument is laid Conan the fierce, the nimble-footed;" 2d, " Obſcure not the remains of Conan the fierce, the nimble-" footed!" 3d, " Long let him lie at eaſe on the brink of this " lake, beneath this hieroglyphic, darling of the Sacred!" 4th, " Long let him lie at eaſe on the brink of this lake, who never " ſaw his faithful clan depreſſed!" 5th, " Hail, with reverential " ſorrow, the drooping heath around his lamentable tomb*!" When all theſe various readings are united, there appears a rational beginning, continuation and concluſion of the ſame ſenſe. But what is ſtill farther remarkable, the number of readings is the limit of the number of lines in the Ogam ſcale. The whole is in the ſtile and manner of the antients, deſcriptive both of the man and the place; and though the language be very antient, yet it is equally familiar and eaſy to ſuch as are well verſed in the ſeveral idioms and dialects of the Iriſh language.

The firſt and ſecond readings are found by twice decypher-ing the Ogam line in the inſcription, from the broad to the narrow end of the ſtone (and here the proceſs is from left to right) commuting the letters F and N, wherever they occur, as the ſenſe ſhall direct; and the third and fourth readings are found by taking the two former backwards (and here the pro-

* Firſt, " Fan li da fica Conan Colgac, cos-obmda!" 2d, " Na flida ni ca " Conan Colgac, cos-obmda!" 3d, Adm bo ſocc ag Loc fan oca cifa dil Naf!" 4th, " Adm bo ſocc ag Loc na foc a cina dil fan!" 5th, " Almho Coſſag dos ta " cu os aſit a lid cuat!"

ceſs is from right to left) commuting the letters F and N, as before. This commutability of the letters F and N depends on a circumſtance peculiar to the Iriſh alphabet, it having two different arrangements; one of which begins with B, L, N, and is called Beithluiſnuin, and the other with B, L, F, and called Beithluisfearn; the latter is peculiar to the Ogam ſyſtem, but, when it is neceſſary for the conſtruction, it does not totally reject the former, which was the alphabet in common uſe until Greek and Roman literature viſited this country, and made the Iriſh arrange their alphabet, as far as it extended, conformable to their own. But the fifth and laſt reading is found by decyphering the Ogam line from the ſmall to the broad end of the ſtone, changing its poſition, that the proceſs may be from left to right. In this neither of the letters F or N occurs, and therefore it admits of no farther readings. The whole proceſs is laid before the reader's eyes in the annexed drawing of the ſtones; but for the rules of decyphering he is referred to Colonel Vallancey's Iriſh grammar.

Fig. 1 and 2.

Fig. 2. By reading the decyphering marked thus ⊙, twice forward, (commuting the letters F and N) and as often backward, (commuting the letters F and N as before,) the four firſt readings are found.

And by reading the decyphering forward, which is thus marked *, the fifth and laſt reading may be alſo diſcovered; but as in this neither of the letters F or N occurs, it admits of no further readings; for in ſuch caſe there would be three other poſſibilities, as in the former decyphering. Where, *Note*, that the letters F and N are marked with (× × ×) croſſes, that the reader may obſerve thoſe to be the commutables.

Let any other beſides theſe five ways be tried, and it will turn to no effect, which affords a proof that thoſe found by this mode of decyphering are the only true readings, for not a word of common ſenſe or perfect language can be otherwiſe collected.

By

By the word ſacred, in the tranſlation of this antient epitaph, is ſuppoſed to be meant the order of the Druids: in the original it is uaſ, of which the uaemh and uaoimh of the moderns are but various writings, all ſignifying the ſame thing, viz. ſacred, heavenly, bleſſed, &c. And from this circumſtance we are led to underſtand that the Druids paid the laſt honours to the remains of the warlike Conan, by celebrating his funeral obſequies according to the uſual ſolemnity with which the heroes of antiquity were always interred, ſuch as is ſet forth in the fragment of the poem before recited; and this they were not denied even by thoſe who in their life-time might have been their profeſſed mortal enemies.

The word which I tranſlate hieroglyphic is in the original Oca, of which the Ogam of the moderns too is but a various writing. This is a convincing proof that this occult character was different from that which was uſed in common; for to what other purpoſe would it be thus ſo particularly ſpecified? I tranſlate it hieroglyphic, only becauſe it was the peculiar character of the Druids, in which they concealed all their myſteries. This is verified by the concurrent teſtimonies both of the traditions of the antients, and of the ſimple and undiſguiſed narratives of our authentic records, which bear not the moſt diſtant appearance of deception, but mention it as a plain matter of fact. Many forms of this character are ſtill preſerved in a manuſcript of very high antiquity yet extant, called the book of Ballymote; and Sir James Ware, a gentleman whoſe candour cannot be eaſily ſuſpected, tells us, in his collections of the antiquities of this country, that he had in his poſſeſſion an entire volume written in it; which monument I am very apprehenſive has ſuffered

the ſame fate with many more of our antient authentic documents.

When all Druidical rites were aboliſhed by the introduction of Chriſtianity into this kingdom, the chief bards and ſeanachies made the Ogam character a private property of their own; but to what uſe they applied it is not eaſy to determine. Wherever this character is to be met with in ſepulchral inſcriptions, it may be inferred, that ſuch are the tombs of kings, princes or chieftains, who ſignalized themſelves by their valour and warlike deeds, and were therefore thus honoured. In all other reſpects, obſcurity, and to contain much within a narrow compaſs, was the purpoſed end and object of the Ogam; for, from the conſtruction, it contains much within a ſmall ſpace, and is ultimately founded on an alphabet of different characters, which is evident even from the explication of the inſcription before us, wherein the letters F and N, (which are ſeverally repreſented by the characters or ,) are commutable, a property which they have not in any other part of our language; and it is given them here probably to render the whole ſcheme more obſcure, this commutation depending, as has been already obſerved, on the two different arrangements of the Iriſh alphabet: And thus it is left to the reader's choice to which of the two letters, F or N, he will apply either of the aforeſaid marks; but the ſenſe will always direct him to the proper mode of application.

There are three ſpecies of the Ogam handed down to us in the writings of the antients: the firſt is called Ogam Craebh, or the Ogam of Branches, from the ſimilarity it bears to the branches of

of a tree, the one long line being conſidered as the ſtem; of this there are many forms, all of which however depend upon the ſame ſcale of decyphering, and of this ſpecies is the Mount-Callan inſcription.

THE ſecond ſpecies of the Ogam is called Ogam Coll, or the Ogam of C's; and the third is called Ogam Conſain, or the Ogam of Conſonants. Thoſe two laſt were only temporary in their uſe, and their obſcurity conſiſted in making uſe of C's in the one, and certain different conſonants in the other, inſtead of the vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs of the language: but the firſt, that is, the Ogam of Branches, was the moſt permanent ſtandard of this occult ſyſtem, and probably by much the moſt antient. This word is ſpelt Ogam or Ogham, and is derived of Oc, Ogh, or Ogha, a circle; becauſe its fundamental rules are given on five circles drawn at certain intervals within each other, of which the following is a diagram taken from the book of Ballymote. Fig. 3.

AND as the lines of which it is compoſed evidently refer to an alphabet already exiſting, by this word (Ogam) in our language is underſtood an obſcure character or an occult manner of writing.

THESE circumſtances are ſufficient to prove that we had letters independent of the Ogam; for it is after conſiderable advances in the cultivation of literature that thoſe occult ſyſtems are contrived, in order to ſerve ſome private end which requires concealment.

WHEN

When I ſpeak of occult ſyſtems of writing, I hope I ſhall not be ſo far miſunderſtood as to have it imagined that I confound them with primitive hieroglyphics, which I look upon to be the firſt ſteps made towards the invention of letters. I have already given my reaſon for calling the Iriſh Ogam by this name, and have alſo endeavoured to prove that it was not the primitive character uſed in this country, but an obſcure one depending on a more commodious common alphabet. I humbly preſume then, that this confirms the cultivation of literature in Ireland before the introduction of Chriſtianity; for as the inſcription on the Mount-Callan monument correſponds with the third century of our æra*, I think no fair objection can be raiſed againſt our acquaintance with letters in this country at that period; but this is a ſubject which prejudice has ſo miſrepreſented, that I fear it would argue preſumption in me to advance

* The poem, intitled *Cath Gabhra*, is that which directs us in ſearch of the Mount-Callan monument. It concludes with mentioning the death of Conan, in the manner before related (page 4) by the Fenii of Fin, meaning the Clan of Baiſgin. The poem is brought in by way of epiſode in that called The Converſation of St. Patrick and Oiſin, to ſhew the ill effects of civil contentions. But ſhould it be aſked why a poem of the eighth century ſhould ſo particularly relate a fact ſo far back? I anſwer, that a poet may relate a matter of fact when it ſerves his purpoſe as well as a fiction; and many a fact of this kind was then known which is now buried in obſcurity. Our poems point out many other monuments beſides that on Mount-Callan, which might ſtill be diſcovered, if proper ſearch was made after them. This poem enables us to determine the date of the monument, which would otherwiſe be very difficult, as nothing to that end is found in the inſcription. The death of Conan is expreſsly ſaid to have happened the year before the battle of Gabhra was fought, and therefore in the year 295, conſequently the ſtone muſt have been inſcribed 1490 years ago, though from its hard texture the inſcription is ſtill perfectly legible.

any

any thing more concerning it; it requires the exertion of far greater abilities than I can pretend to: however, I beg leave to add here what Mr. O'Connor, an antiquarian of credit, and a member of your academy, has been pleaſed to communicate to me, in a letter he was good enough to honour me with on that head.

" THAT the Mileſian Family," ſays he, " imported letters " into Ireland, and that their anceſtors learned them from the " Phœnicians, I am certain; and Mr. Burton judged well in " averring, that our earlieſt ſcribes wrote from the right hand to " the left; but they changed to the more commodious manner " of writing from the left to the right, and laid aſide the uncouth " crooked characters of the Phœnicians, when the beautiful Greek " and Roman characters were made known here in the fourth " and fifth centuries."

INDEED the very alphabet of the Iriſh, from the number of letters it conſiſts of (being only ſeventeen) would be ſufficient to prove that it did not derive its origin from the Romans, or any other of our neighbouring nations; and although all their letters have been ſince well known to us, yet ſuch is the texture of the Iriſh language, that we have found no occaſion to make uſe of them, our antient alphabet ſtill continuing to ſerve every purpoſe, ſo that we have adopted nothing of theirs but the arrangement: conſequently, (as Mr. O'Connor ſays in another part of his letter to me,) " Our firſt miſſionaries of the goſpel " were ſaved the ſlaviſh taſk of alphabet-teachers, for they met " with a lettered people, whoſe philoſophy and manners prepared " them

" them for a more rapid progreſs of the goſpel in this remote part
" of Europe than in any other that we read of."

Of the exiſtence of the Ogam then, I hope all doubts are done away; and as to my explication of the inſcription on the Mount-Callan monument, I have adhered with all the ſtrictneſs I poſſibly could to the true rules of decyphering, with which I have laboured to be pretty well acquainted, and therefore my explication will appear plain to ſuch as will chuſe to take the ſame trouble. 'Till this is done, all the objection I can meet with muſt appear as the production of conjecture in oppoſition to matter of fact; indeed the diſcovery of the true ſenſe of this inſcription is principally owing to the ingenious thought of Mr. Burton, with reſpect to the reading backward; which, whether it affects the antient literary ſyſtem of this country in general, or not, at leaſt was inſtrumental in exciting me to the ſearch, which I ſhould otherwiſe have been apt to neglect; for, finding one ſenſible reading, it is probable I ſhould not have thought of tracing it farther than the rules in our grammars might direct, and thoſe I find are totally inſufficient.

The SEPULCHRAL STONE of CONAN.

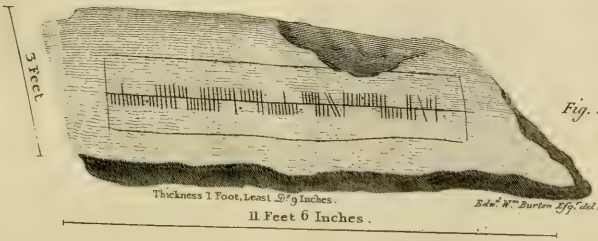


Fig. 1.

THE INSCRIPTION DECYPHERED.

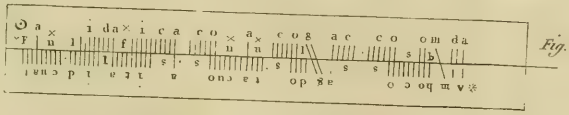


Fig. 2.

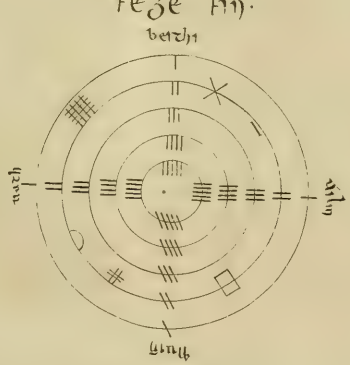


Fig. 3.

T.O Flanagan exp.t

J.Ferd.k Sculp.t

The ANTIQUITY *of the* WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE *in* IRELAND, *proved from a Paſſage of an antient Florentine Poet. By the Earl of* CHARLEMONT, *P. R. I. A.*

Read Feb. 20, 1786.

THE following lines are taken from an old Italian poem, entitled Dittamondi *, and written by Fazio Delli Uberti, a nobleman of Florence, who, though certainly not, as ſome ſuppoſe, contemporary with Dante, flouriſhed not long after the death of that poet; but, as the value of the information contained in theſe lines principally depends upon the antiquity of the work, it may not be ſuperfluous, as far as I am able, to aſcertain its date.

IN the nineteenth chapter of the fourth book, the author concludes a genealogical account of the kings of France with theſe lines:

Philippo di Valiſo Signor poi
Et Giovan el Figliol, del qual conchiudo
Che con gran' guerra tiene el Regno ancoi †.

FROM hence it appears certain, that, as John the ſon of Philip of Valois is mentioned as the monarch then reigning, the poem muſt have been compoſed before the year 1364, in

* We are told by Quadrio, della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poeſia, vol. iv. p. 47, that the true title of this poem was Dicta Mundi, which was afterwards, by corruption, written Dittamondi, and Dittamondo.

† *Philip of Valois afterward was Lord,*
And John his ſon, with whom I now conclude,
Who with a mighty war ſtill holds the realm.

 which

which year that Prince died; and ſince we are farther informed that he ſtill holds the Kingdom *with a mighty war*, we may thence fairly conclude that the publication was previous to the treaty of Bretigny in the year 1360*.

THIS whimſical poem, which in point of language is of ſuch authority as to be cited by the authors of the Dictionary della Cruſca, and is written in Terza Rima, a ſpecies of verſification which Dante had then made faſhionable, contains an hiſtorical and geographical account of all the nations of the world. The author, having travelled through England and Scotland, paſſes into Ireland, a deſcription of which country, and of its inhabitants, he begins as follows:

Cap. xxvi. lib. iv.
Similimente paſſamo en Irlanda,
La qual fra noi e degna de Fama
Per le nobile SAIE che ci manda†.

THESE lines appear to me to contain a full proof of a moſt extraordinary fact—That Ireland ſhould have been already famous for her woollen manufactures ſo early as in the middle of the fourteenth century, and ſhould at that period have imported them into Italy, where the vent of theſe commodities was even then ſo fully eſtabliſhed, and the ſuperiority of their fabric ſo univerſally acknowledged, as to render the country from

* From a paſſage in the beginning of the 13th chap. of the 2d book, the date of the poem ſeems to be aſcertained to the year 1357. The paſſage, however, with a ſlight and warrantable alteration, may receive an eaſier conſtruction, ſo as to bring the date down to 1363, in which caſe the war alluded to by the poet may poſſibly mean thoſe civil commotions in which John was involved even after the concluſion of the peace with England.

† *In like manner we paſs into Ireland, which among us is worthy of renown for the excellent ſerges that ſhe ſends us.*

whence

whence they came *degna de Fama*, and to entitle them to the epithet *nobile*, is a fact which, without a proof so incontrovertible as the testimony of our author, would never have been credited; especially when we reflect that England was not then in possession of any such commerce, since we know, to a certainty, that Edward III. during whose reign, many years before his death, the poem was undoubtedly written, was the first of our kings who effectually encouraged the English to apply themselves to the woollen manufacture. For, though there is no doubt that wool was wrought in England so early as in the time of Richard I. and even earlier, yet is it more than probable that such manufacture was principally, if not wholly, for home consumption, as raw wool was at that time, and long after, the principal article of English export, and all our historians agree in fixing the date of the woollen manufacture in England, as an object of importance, to the year 1331, fifth of Edward III. in which year that wise monarch brought over from Flanders John Kemp, and several other Flemish woollen weavers. Yet is it clear, from the above lines, that at this very period Ireland was already in possession of this branch of commerce, and famous for her woollens, which she exported to distant regions, and sent even into Italy, at that time the most polished of all European countries, and the most eminent for trade and manufactures *.

* The city of Florence, to which probably our *Florentine* author more particularly ascribes the consumption of Irish serges, was not only eminent for her manufactures, but in an high degree remarkable for her luxury in dress, as may be seen by consulting the History of Giovanni Villani, lib. x. cap. 152, where that good old chronicler, in his account of a sumptuary law enacted in the year 1330, circumstantially details the enormous profusion of his countrymen, and more especially of his countrywomen, in that article. Villani farther informs us, that this sumptuary ordinance was not only applauded,

SAIA* is, in the Dictionary della Cruſca, explained to be *Spezie di Panno lano ſottile e leggieri*—A deſcription which anſwers to our ſerge. And the epithet *nobile* ſtrongly expreſſes the excellence of the commodity, and the high repute in which it was held. It is remarkable that Iriſh wool is ſtill found to be better adapted to the conſtruction of ſerges, and the other articles of what is called *new drapery*, than to broad cloth.

THE following quotation from a very antient Florentine account book, in the Dictionary della Cruſca, Article SAIA, is a further proof of the above-mentioned extraordinary fact—" Per un Pezza " di Saia d'Irlanda per veſtir della Moglie d'Andrea†." From hence alſo it appears, that Iriſh ſerge was among the Italians an article of female dreſs, a circumſtance which might induce us to ſuppoſe that the fabric was then of a finer‡ and more delicate texture than what is now made under that denomination.

applauded, but adopted by many other ſtates of Italy; and that the ladies, whom this law had extremely offended, when forbidden the exorbitant uſe of Italian finery, revenged themſelves by the importation of foreign wares.

* *Saia*, which, as the commodity was foreign, is probably a word not originally Italian, may perhaps have been altered and italianized from ſerge, which, according to Skinner, is derived from the German *ſerge*, a mat. The French and the Spaniards have adopted the ſame appellation—*ſerge*, French—*xerga*, Spaniſh. But as this kind of ſtuff is alſo called in Engliſh *ſay*—Shakeſpeare, Henry VI. ſecond part—" Ah, " thou *ſay*, thou ſerge, thou buckram Lord!" which Skinner derives from *ſagum*, " tunica militaris, quoniam iſte pannus ſagis conficiendis valde commodus eſt," it is ſtill more probable that the Italian word *ſaia* was formed from this.

† *For a piece of ſerge of Ireland for clothing the wife of Andrew.*

‡ From a line in the Fairy Queen, book iii. cant. 12, ſtanza 8, we might perhaps be induced to ſuppoſe that in England alſo ſerge was formerly of a finer texture, or at leaſt more faſhionable, than it now is—

" His garment neither was of ſilk nor *ſay*."

Here the Poet ſeems to put ſerge upon a level with ſilk, at that time a very coſtly article of dreſs.

THE

THE remarkable information conveyed in the lines above cited having induced me to examine into the ſtate of the fact, I find that in times, very early indeed, Ireland was noted for her woollens, which were freely imported into England.

IN the reign of Henry III. who reigned from 1216 to 1271, a duel was awarded and fought between Walter Blowberme, an approver, and Hamon le Stare; the former having accuſed the latter of having been partner with him in ſtealing clothes and other goods at Wincheſter, whereof Hamon had for his ſhare two coats, to wit, one of *Iriſh cloth*, and the other a party coat cloth of Abendon and Burrel of London.—*Vid. Madox' Hiſtory of the Exchequer*, vol. i. page 550.

THAT in the time of Edward III. Iriſh frizes were freely imported into England, and even encouraged there, we learn from the eighth and laſt ſtatute of his reign, whereby it is enacted that no ſubſidy nor aulnage duty ſhall be paid on cloths called frize ware, which be made in Ireland, or in England of Iriſh wool; becauſe thoſe cloths did not contain the length nor breadth ordained by the ſtatute.—*Anderſon's Commerce*, vol. i. page 204.

IN a licenſe granted to the Pope's agent, A. D. 1482, An. 5. Ric. II. for exporting into Italy certain commodities cuſtom-free, we find the following articles of Iriſh woollen, viz. five mantles of *Iriſh cloth*, one lined with green—one ruſſet garment lined with *Iriſh cloth*.—*Rim. Fœdera*, vol. vii. page 136.

BY an act of parliament, fourth of Edward IV. it is enacted that no cloth of any other region but Wales and Ireland ſhall be imported into England, excepting cloth taken at ſea.—*Anderſon*, vol. i. page 280.

FROM

From all theſe ſeveral facts, and particularly from the paſſage of our author, we may fairly conclude that Ireland was poſſeſſed of an extenſive trade in woollens at a very early period, and long before that commodity was an article of Engliſh export. Manufactures are ſlow in being brought to that degree of perfection which may render them an object coveted by diſtant countries, eſpecially where the people of thoſe countries have arrived at a high degree of poliſh; and if in the middle of the fourteenth century the ſerges of Ireland were eagerly ſought after*, and worn with a preference by the poliſhed Italians, there can be no doubt that the fabric had been eſtabliſhed for a very long time before that period. Nay, we may perhaps be allowed to hazard a conjecture, which, however whimſical it may appear, is by no means impoſſible, that the wiſe Edward might have laboured to eſtabliſh the woollen manufacture among his Engliſh ſubjects, in imitation of the

* If the ſerges of Ireland were eagerly ſought after by the Italians, and particularly by the Florentines, it muſt have been for the peculiar excellence of their quality, and not by any means from the want of home-made woollens, ſince we may clearly infer from a paſſage in Machiavel's Florentine Hiſtory, that about the year 1380 the woollen manufacture was, and had long been, eſtabliſhed at Florence. The hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the trades or guilds of that city, has theſe words—" E di " tutte l'arti che haveva, e ha, più di queſti ſottopoſti, era, ed è, *quella della Lana*, " laquale per eſſere potentiſſima, e la prima per autorità de tutte, con l'induſtria ſua " la maggior parte della plebe e popolo minuto paſceva e paſce."—" *And of all the* " *guilds that had, and have, the moſt of theſe* (ſubordinate trades) *under their juriſdiction,* " *was, and is, that of the* WOOLLEN WEAVERS, *which, as being the moſt powerful,* " *and the firſt of all in authority, by its induſtry fed, and ſtill feeds, the greater part of the* " *populace, and loweſt claſs of the people.*" Now, if in the year 1380 the corporation of woollen weavers was the greateſt and moſt powerful in Florence, containing in it, and preſiding over many ſubordinate and ancillary trades, ſuch as carders, dyers, &c. we may faitly conclude that the manufacture muſt have been eſtabliſhed in that city long before 1360, about which time the Dittamondi was written.

Iriſh.

Iriſh, and in competition with the trade extenſively carried on by a people, who, however erroneouſly, we are taught to believe were at that period little removed from a ſtate of abſolute barbarity. For the native Iriſh, upon whom the aſperſion principally falls, muſt have had a ſhare in this traffic, the Engliſh ſettlers being too few, and too much occupied by perpetual broils, to be alone equal to an extenſive manufacture. Our author indeed himſelf in a great meaſure contradicts this calumny, and the character which he gives of the Iriſh in his time tends greatly to diminiſh that idea of barbarity which is uſually objected to them:

> Queſta Gente, benche moſtra ſelvagia,
> E per gli Monti la Contrada accierba,
> Nondimeno l'e dolcie ad cui l'aſaggia *.

Fazio, or Bonifazio, delli Uberti, grandſon to the celebrated Farinata †, is ſuppoſed to have viſited in perſon moſt of the countries he deſcribes. His family ‡, one of the moſt illuſtrious of Florence, and head of the Ghibellines, having been driven into baniſhment by the oppoſite faction, he is ſaid to have taken advantage of this opportunity to indulge his taſte for travelling, and the Dittamondi is in effect no other than an

> * *This race of men, tho' ſavage they may ſeem,*
> *The country too with many a mountain rough,*
> *Yet are they ſweet to him who tries and taſtes them.*

† For ſome account of this Tuſcan hero, vid. Iſtorie di Giovanni Villani, lib. vi. cap. 82—Machiavelli, Iſtorie Florentine, lib. ii. page 45.—Alſo, Dante, Inferno. canto x.

‡ Vid. Creſcimboni, Hiſtoria della volgar Poeſia, vol. iv. part ii. page 160.—Quadrio, della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poeſia, vol. iv. page 47. Both theſe authors expreſsly mention the travels of Fazio.

account

account of his extenſive travels, together with a ſketch of the hiſtory of the countries through which he paſſed. Neither is there any reaſon to doubt that the author was actually in Ireland; his perſonal acquaintance with that iſland appears not only from the accurate manner of his deſcription, but more eſpecially from his expreſsly telling us that he had himſelf ſeen there certain lakes, the peculiar qualities of which he minutely details—Qui *vid' io* di più natura Laghi *. This laſt circumſtance I mention, as it ſerves to ſhew that Ireland was then of ſufficient note to induce a learned and illuſtrious Italian, notwithſtanding the dangers of the navigation, which he feelingly deſcribes †, to viſit its remote ſhores.

The book from which theſe quotations are taken is extremely ſcarce, being the firſt printed edition of the Dittamondi, printed at Vicenza in the year 1474.

* *Here* I ſaw *lakes of various natures.*

† Diverſi Venti con mugli et con fiſcio
Sofiavan per quel Mare andando a piagia,
El qual de Scogli e de gran Saſſi e miſchio.

Still varying winds with hiſs and hideous roar
Blow thro' that ſea, coaſting the dangerous ſhoal,
Of iſles and monſtrous rocks a maſs confuſed.

An ENQUIRY *concerning the* ORIGINAL *of the* SCOTS *in* BRITAIN.

By Dr. BARNARD, *Biſhop of* KILLALOE, *M. R. I. A. and F. R. S.*

Read March 20, 1786.

THE original of that portion of the inhabitants of Britain properly called Scots, has been a point of hiſtory ſo eſtabliſhed by the concurrence of all writers on that ſubject, both native and foreign, from venerable Bede down to Sir George Mc. Kenzie, that, for a period of at leaſt nine hundred years, it was never eſteemed matter of queſtion, until ſome late Scottiſh antiquarians, anxious to ſupport an hypotheſis, inconſiſtent with their own annals and tradition, have thought proper wholly to reject the received opinion of their anceſtors on this head, and to offer to the public in its place an entire new ſyſtem of their own, founded on arguments of probability, ſufficiently plauſible and ingenious, but unſupported by written teſtimonies, or any authentic documents whatſoever.

Having read with ſome degree of attention what has been produced in this controverſy on both ſides of the queſtion, and compared it as well with the antient hiſtories of the Scots and Iriſh, as with the evidence of ſuch foreign writers as make mention of them, I am of opinion that a ſyſtem may be formed from theſe materials equally conſiſtent with probability and written authority, which rather tends to reconcile than to ſubvert the arguments of both parties, and is at the ſame time ſupported by as convincing evidence as truth at this diſtance of time is capable of receiving.

It appears to be highly probable that the North of Ireland might have been originally peopled from the adjacent parts of Caledonia, as the Scottiſh antiquarians aſſert, and that the Southern inhabitants of the iſland might have derived their origin from their neighbours in South Britain (perhaps from the Belgæ and Danonii, whoſe poſterity in Ireland were called Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danan): I am, therefore, ready to admit that the Iriſh might have been the children, rather than the parents of the antient Caledonians.

But this conceſſion, as to the firſt population of Ireland, has no tendency to invalidate the hiſtory of a certain Mileſian Dynaſty having in proceſs of time invaded and obtained the dominion of the country without extirpating the antient natives; for have not the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans in Britain, and the Engliſh in Ireland, ſince done the ſame? But no one I believe has been ſo abſurd as to infer that either of theſe kingdoms was peopled as well as ſubdued by the invaders.

It is equally an error to ſuppoſe that the Iriſh chronicles derive the blood of their whole nation from thoſe Mileſians; for none but their princes and the ſpreading branches of their poſterity pretend to trace their families from this honourable ſource.

If genealogies had been preſerved in England with the ſame attention as they were in Ireland, we ſhould probably be aſtoniſhed to find as many of our fellow-ſubjects, now in poverty and obſcurity, with royal blood flowing in their veins, in one country as in the other. Whoever has read the ſhort hiſtory of the line of Plantagenet, publiſhed towards the beginning of this century, will be ſenſible of the truth of this obſervation. But the Iriſh genealogical tables which are ſtill extant carry intrinſic proofs of their being genuine and authentic, by their chronological accuracy, and conſiſtency with each other through all the lines collateral as well as direct, a conſiſtency not to be accounted for on the ſuppoſition of their being fabricated in a ſubſequent age of darkneſs and ignorance, but eaſily explained if we admit them to have been drawn from the ſource of real family records and truth. So much of the Iriſh hiſtory as relates to the names and ſucceſſion of their princes will certainly ſtand againſt every reaſonable objection to its credibility, whatever ſuſpicion of error, or even fiction, may lie againſt other circumſtances contained in it.

As to the high antiquity and long duration of the Mileſian Dynaſty in Ireland, I can diſcern nothing incredible in the account of it. It is natural to ſuppoſe that at what time ſoever

this Spaniſh or Celtiberian colony took poſſeſſion of Ireland its leader became king; and when we conſider the remoteneſs of this iſland from foreign invaſion, we ſhall think it leſs wonderful that its ſucceſſion ſhould have continued unchanged through ſuch a long line of Mileſian princes. The ſame circumſtance in the annals of China does not ſhock our belief, and we account for it from the ſame cauſe, viz. its being ſeparated from all connexion with the reſt of the world, which preſerved it until the Tartar invaſion from thoſe revolutions which have ſo frequently changed the government of other countries. And, to come nearer home for an example, the Scottiſh line, ſtill happily reigning in Great Britain, tracing it no higher than to its unqueſtioned anceſtor Fergus the Second, is at this day not leſs antient than the line of the Mileſians in Ireland was, at the period down to which the written antiquities of that country, ſtill extant, are carried.

I SHALL not here enter into a diſcuſſion concerning the moſt antient and authentic annals of Ireland, ſaid to have been framed under the ſanction of public authority from time to time, 'till the invaſion of the Danes: thoſe valuable monuments have periſhed long ſince; but, as I before obſerved, even in thoſe more recent compilations which now remain, we find none of thoſe palpable contradictions in different hiſtorians, none of thoſe uncertainties and variations in the names and order of their kings, which appear in the hiſtories of the darker ages of other nations, where fiction or tradition has ſupplied the want of authentic materials. A general agreement appears in the names and lineage of that long ſeries of princes that ſucceeded and deſcended from the

the firſt conqueror down to the fifth century; and the deſcent of the collateral branches is traced up to the royal ſtem with ſuch preciſion and conſiſtency, as ſhews it to have been once a matter of public concern. The later bards and ſennachies could not have fabricated tables that ſhould have ſtood the teſt of critical examination as theſe will do; from whence I infer that they have been a true tranſcript from antient records then extant, but ſince deſtroyed. I am ready, however, to admit that the hiſtory of the tranſactions of thoſe times is mixed with the fictions of later ages, and leſs to be depended on, as we have at this day no fixed criterion to diſtinguiſh falſhood from truth; it is therefore neither to be received nor rejected in the groſs, but to be read with a ſceptical caution, and to be admitted only ſo far as it is conſiſtent with probability, with the teſtimony of cotemporary hiſtorians, and with itſelf. So far, and no farther, I ſhall therefore have recourſe to its authority on the preſent queſtion. Granting therefore, as I have before obſerved, that the antient inhabitants of Ireland might have come from the adjacent coaſts of Britain, and were not extirpated, but only ſubdued by the Mileſian invaders, it is very probable that the intercourſe between the natives of Caledonia, and thoſe of the province of Ulſter (which took its riſe from their original connexion and vicinity) might have continued to ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding their having afterwards become abſolutely diſtinct nations in a political ſenſe. This intercourſe would have much increaſed, and the alliance been farther cemented, when it became their mutual intereſt to join their forces againſt the Romans: The Caledonians to preſerve their liberty, and the Iriſh to keep the enemy from attacking their's; which they were in

no

no danger of 'till after Britain was totally ſubdued. There is a paſſage in Tacitus which ſtrongly confirms this conjecture; where ſpeaking of the utility of an expedition againſt Ireland, with reſpect to the ſecurity of the Roman conqueſts in Britain, he adds, among other motives, "*Ut Libertas tanquam e Conſpectu tolleatur.*" "To take away that hankering after freedom which the "ſight of a free ally ſo near at hand would naturally excite." This hint gives the reader to underſtand that Agricola had already ſuffered ſome inconvenience from this connexion of intereſts, and was deſirous of putting an end to it, if poſſible, for ever. This expedition never took place, becauſe that general had work enough cut out for him by the valour of the Caledonians under Galgacus, without croſſing the ſea in ſearch of a new enemy; and his return to Italy a ſhort time after, and the ſame cauſe continuing, prevented the deſign from being ever reſumed. But the increaſing intercourſe and alliance between the two nations at that period, for the above reaſons, in all probability opened the way to that ſettlement under Carbic Riada, which, according to the Iriſh accounts, was effected in the Weſt of Scotland about the middle of the ſecond century: When the antient poſterity of the Caledonians, under a Mileſian leader, returned to their original country, with the new appellation of Dalriadans, where the devaſtations of a long war that had laſted near a century had made ample room for their reception, without inconvenience to the remaining natives, and where they, moſt probably, were received with open arms.

This migration of an Iriſh colony under the command of Riada appears to have been effected about the year 150; and whatever private families might have ſettled there before (which is not denied) this is the firſt colony of which we have any diſtinct account in the Iriſh hiſtorians; and here they have been ſo particular as to name ſome of the other chiefs who accompanied him, and got the principal poſſeſſions in the country. This Riada is ſaid to have been the ſon of Conaire the Second, monarch of Ireland; and that he is the ſame with the Rheuda of venerable Bede, appears from the Iriſh writers, who conſtantly give the colony the name of Dalriadans, whom Bede calls Dalrheudini, until the time of Niall Niagallach, who ſent freſh colonies of Iriſh Scots into Caledonia after their diſperſion by Maximus; and from thenceforth we hear no more of them in the Iriſh accounts by their old name, but they are by common conſent called Scots. This alteration is obſervable from about the year 390, which anſwers nearly to the firſt accounts we have of them under the name of Scots, in the writers of other nations.

This I take to be a probable and defenſible account of the riſe of this third nation (as Bede calls it) and its admittance into Caledonia; which at the ſame time that it is conſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of Ireland's being originally peopled from the adjacent parts of Britain (which the later Scottiſh antiquarians ſo ſtiffly contend for) is alſo agreeable to the hypotheſis of the Mileſian ſettlement in Ireland and the ſucceſſion of their kings according to Iriſh hiſtory; and conformable to the account given by

by cotemporary writers, as well as all the Scottiſh hiſtorians 'till the preſent century. The firſt paſſage that I ſhall quote in ſupport of this ſyſtem is from Buchanan ; not that the antiquity of this elegant writer, gives him any right to priority, but chiefly becauſe the paſſage I refer to reaches ſtill farther back than the preſent queſtion, and expreſſes his opinion of the veracity of the Iriſh accounts of their own origin in better terms than I can ſubſtitute in their place.

After declaring his belief of a colony from Spain having ſought and eſtabliſhed a ſettlement in Ireland, as being the only country near them where they could effect it, and the moſt favourable to their idle diſpoſition from the richneſs of its ſoil, where they might indulge a paſtoral life without the toils of agriculture, he proceeds " Sed nec gentis cujuſque de " ſuis majoribus opinionem quæ veriſimilibus conjecturis inni- " titur, & teſtimonio vetuſto confirmatur, repudiandum ex- " iſtimo. Nam C. Tacitus occidentale latus Britanniæ, Sive " Albii, a poſteris Hiſpanorum coli, certâ, ut ipſi videtur, " conjecturâ affirmat : Veriſimile autem non eſt, Hiſpanos, re- " lictâ a Tergo Hiberniâ, Terrâ propiore, et Cæli & Soli mitio- " ris, in Albium primum deſcendiſſe ; ſed in Hiberniam ap- " puliſſe, atque Inde, in Britanniam colonos miſſos ; *quod et* " *Scotis contigiſſe*, *omnes eorum annales affirmant*, et Beda Libro " primo teſtatur. Scoti enim, omnes Hiberniæ habitatores initio " vocabantur ; ut indicat Oroſius ; nec *Semel* Scotorum ex Hi- " berniâ tranſitum in Albium factum *Noſtri Annales* referunt, " ſed primum duce Ferguſio Ferchardi filio, deinde, poſt aliquot

" aliquot ætates in Hiberniam rediiſſe, atque denuo duce
" Rheutharo in Britanniam reverſos. Poſt, etiam, regnante
" Ferguſio Secundo, magna auxilia Scotorum Hibernicorum
" miſſa quibus ſedes in Gallovidia ſunt datæ." *Buch. Lib.* 2.

John Major, a more antient writer than Buchanan, admits the firſt ſettlement of the Scots in Britain to have been under Rheuda, but is guilty of ſo many anachroniſms in his account as not to deſerve a quotation from him till he comes to their diſperſion by Maximus, which he thus relates: " Anno ab Orbe
" redempto 396, tempore Honorii & Arcadii Imperatorum, in
" Britanniam Scoti diſperſi redierunt, poſtquam quadraginta
" tribus Annis exularant: & hoc partim Pictorum invocatione,
" qui Britonum tributis attædiati ſuas terras pro magna parte
" Pictorum opere receperunt & fædus novum omni odio depoſito
" Scoti cum Pictis renovarunt; verbi Salluſtiani memores, con-
" cordia parvæ res creſcunt, diſcordiâ maximæ dilabuntur."

Geoffry of Monmouth, a writer of the eleventh century, thus ſpeaks of the return of the Scots after Maximus left Britain (whom he calls Maximianus): " nefandi Pictorum & Hunno-
" rum duces Guanius et Melga qui partibus Gratiani & Valenti-
" niani favebant, cum didiciſſent Inſulam Britanniæ ab omni
" armato milite vacuatam, iter feſtinatum verſus Illam duxe-
" runt, aſſociatiſque ſibi *collateralibus Inſulis*, in Albaniam appli-
" cuerunt: agmine igitur facto invaſerunt regnum quod rec-
" tore et defenſore carebat, vulgus irrationabile cædentes; ad-
" duxerat enim ſecum Maximianus omnes bellicoſos juvenes

" qui reperiri potuerunt, inermeſque colonos, atque inconſultos
" reliquerat. Cum igitur tanta calamitas Maximiano nun-
" tiata fuiſſet, miſit Gratianum municipem cum duobus Legionibus,
" qui ut in inſulam venerunt præliati ſunt cum prædictis hoſ-
" tibus, et acerrimo nece affectos ipſos in Hiberniam fugaverunt.
" Interea Maximianus Romæ interfectus eſt, & Gratianus cæpit
" Regni Diadema, exin tantam tyrannidem in Populum exer-
" cuit, ut catervis factis irruerunt in illum plebani, & interfe-
" cerunt. Quod cum per cætera regna divulgatum fuiſſet,
" reverſi ſunt prædicti hoſtes ex Hiberniâ, & ſecum *Scotos*,
" Norwegenſes, & Dacos conducentes, regnum a mari uſque ad
" mare, ferro & Flammâ affecerunt. *Erat autem Albania peni-*
" *tus, frequentatione barbarorum, vaſtata. & Quicunque hoſtes ſu-*
" *perveniebant, opportunum intra ipſam habebant receptaculum.*"
Geoff. Mon. Hiſt. Brit. Lib. 5th, Cap. ult.

I SHOULD not quote Geoffry of Monmouth as a writer of much authority, if the hiſtory he refers to was then a matter of very high antiquity; but as the event he relates was at a period not very diſtant from his own times, I think he deſerves attention. We do not reject the teſtimony of the Roman hiſtorians for the expulſion of the Tarquins and the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, though we may give little credit to the tale of Æneas, which yet, for any thing that now appears to the contrary, is as well ſupported by antient records as the other. But, as they lived nearer the latter period than the former, we ſuppoſe them better ſupported in the matter of fact. The account however of Geoffry is partly confirmed by Fabius Athelwerdus,

werdus, a Saxon writer who flouriſhed two centuries before. I have not had an opportunity of conſulting him, but he is thus quoted by Uſher, *Eccleſ. Brit. Primord.* " Habitante plebe " britannicâ incurioſè, cauſa firmitatis intra foſſam quæ a Severo " Cæſare condita erat, inſurrexerunt *gentes* duæ Picti Scilicet ab " *aquilonali* plagâ, Scoti, ab *occidentali* contra eos, vaſtantes eo- " rum poſſeſſiones." Now no nation of Scots could come upon the Britons from the weſt of Severus's wall except thoſe from Ireland, and the firſt colony of Scots had fled back thither after their defeat by the Romans. This brings our accounts of the Iriſh invaſion of Britain ſtill nearer the time when it is ſaid to have happened. But to put the truth of this piece of hiſtory beyond all exception, we have the teſtimony of a writer ſtill more antient, and that is Gildas the Briton, who may be eſteemed almoſt a cotemporary with the calamity that he relates. Theſe are his words. " Exin Britannia omni armato milite, militari- " bus copiis, rectoribus (licet immanibus) ingenti iuventute " ſpoliata, quæ comitata veſtigia ſupradicti tyranni *(Maximi* " *Scilicet)* domum nuſquam rediit ultra, et omnis belli uſus " penitus ignara, duabus gentibus tranſmarinis, Scotorum a " *Circio*, Pictorum ab *Aquilone* calcabilis, multos ſtrepet gemitque " annos." Theſe appear to have been the commotions to which Claudian refers in his poem in Laudem Stilichonis, as they laſted for a conſiderable time, and were not concluded 'till the total defeat and diſſipation of the Scots by Gratianus Municeps. Which Fordun, the moſt antient of the Scottiſh hiſtorians, places about the year 360, in the reign of Eugenius. " His diebus " in bello rex Scotorum Eugenius cecidit cum filio, multique

" cum illis Principes & Reguli. Reliqui, relictis prædiis, Hoſti-
" bus Servire nolentes, eligerunt potius in terram alienam velut
" advenæ degentes, quam propriâ ſubditi ſervire continuâ ſer-
" vitute: Ethac quoque Regis frater cum Filio Suo Erth, aliis
" que pluribus Hiberniam petiit. Inſulas itaque quidam petentes
" per omne tempus excidii latebant, præter quas omne regnum
" circa annum 360 amiſerunt."

Here then we ſee the Scottiſh Dynaſty completely expelled from Britain, and diſperſed, ſome into Ireland from whence they came, and ſome to other nations. Their return into Britain was about forty years after. John Major places it thirty-ſix years, though he is too inaccurate to be depended on. " Anno
" ab orbe redempto 396 tempore Arcadii et Honorii Impera-
" torum Scotos diſperſos in Britanniam rediiſſe conſtat," &c.

From a compariſon of all theſe accounts, however they may differ in leſſer circumſtances, theſe facts are to be collected:— That a colony of Scots from Ireland had ſettled in Caledonia; that they had given umbrage to the Romans in Britain, by their hoſtilities againſt the province in conjunction with the Iriſh, the Picts, and other nations. That they were attacked by the Romans, defeated, and forced to abandon Britain. That on Maximus leaving Britain without defence they took advantage of his abſence, and made freſh attempts to reinſtate themſelves. That they were again chaſtiſed by Gratianus Municeps; but on his being aſſaſſinated, they returned in full force, with the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh and Picts, laid waſte and occupied the country from

ſea

ſea to ſea (which poſſibly was no more than from the Clyde to the Forth). And laſtly, that they eſtabliſhed themſelves in Scotland about the year 396.

Let us now ſee how all this agrees with the Iriſh hiſtories of thoſe times. It appears by the Iriſh chronicles, now extant, that Niall Niagallach, monarch of all Ireland, began his reign in 373, and reigned twenty-ſeven years. This prince is one of the greateſt heroes of the Iriſh, and his exploits in Britain are particularly extolled; in one of which expeditions the celebrated St. Patrick is ſaid to have been carried priſoner into Ireland. He was the firſt (as they aſſert) that gave the name of Scotia to the country poſſeſſed by the Iriſh colonies in Britain. They name alſo a general of the Dalriads who aſſiſted him with his forces at the latter end of his reign, but no king of that country is mentioned 'till Fergus the ſon of Earca; who, according to them, firſt eſtabliſhed the independent kingdom of the Scots. Now the return of the Scots into Britain is placed by their own writers anno 396, which was about four years before the death of this monarch. So that theſe relations agree ſufficiently with the Iriſh accounts to render both very admiſſible; and to mitigate the ridicule which a late Scottiſh antiquarian is pleaſed to throw upon the imaginary exploits of the redoubtable Niall: Since almoſt the whole of that period, wherein we read that the Romans, Britons, Huns, Picts, Scots and Iriſh were engaged in a bloody war, was during the reign of this prince; during which, in the alliance of theſe barbarous nations againſt the Romans and Britons, the Iriſh ſeem to have taken the lead, not only by affording an aſylum to a diſtreſſed people after their defeat, but by aſſiſting afterwards to reſtore

them

them by an offenſive war with an enemy who had never attacked their country; ſo that we muſt conſider them as aggreſſors in the quarrel.

The author of the Introduction to the Hiſtory of the antient Scots and Iriſh, challenges the abettors of the old ſyſtem to ſhew a period at which the Iriſh could poſſibly have ſettled themſelves in ſuch numbers as to have formed an independent ſtate among the brave Caledonians, who would ſoon have ſent them back to their own country with diſgrace if they had made ſuch an attempt. If his reading had been equal to his invention and ingenuity he might eaſily have diſcovered it: It was, "*Cum Albania penitus frequentatione barbarorum vaſtata erat, et quicunque hoſtes Superveniebant, opportunum intra ipſam habebant receptaculum.*"

Towards the middle of the enſuing century we have an account of another migration of Scots into Britain, and more ſettlements obtained there by the Iriſh natives. This was at the time when Britain was totally abdicated by the Romans, and of courſe a fair opportunity offered to a needy enemy to invade, plunder and conquer with little reſiſtance. Gildas deſcribes this invaſion and the cauſe of it in the following words: "Romanis ad ſuos remeantibus, emergunt certatim de curucis quibus ſunt trans ſcythicam vallem evecti, tetri Scotorum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte diſſidentes, et unâ eademque Sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes.—Cognitaque condebitorum reverſione et reditus denegatione, ſolito confidentiores, omnem aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem *Pro Indigenis* muro tenus capeſſunt." Bede ſpeaks of the ſame event in terms not very different: "Anno Theodoſii octavo

"recedente

" recedente a Britanniâ romano exercitu, cognita, Scoti & Picti
" reditus denegatione, redeunt ipſi, et totam ab aquilone inſu-
" lam *Pro Indigenis* muro tenus capeſſunt."

Here then is a full confutation of the new Scottiſh Archæologia, that the Scots are the poſterity of the true Caledonians. Gildas writes of his own times, and conſequently his authority is irrefragable. Who were the Indigenæ of the Pars Aquilonalis of Britain Muro Tenus, but the Caledonians? If the Scots and Picts ſeized on the poſſeſſion of that part *Pro Indigenis*, they could not have been Indigenæ themſelves, but a foreign nation or nations; conſequently neither of them of Caledonian extraction.

We now ſee the whole portion of Britain, at this day called Scotland, in full poſſeſſion of the Scots and Picts for the firſt time; for though both theſe nations had got footing there ſome ages before, and been very troubleſome neighbours to the natives as well as to the Romans, it does not appear that they poſſeſſed a ſufficient portion of this country to deſerve the name of a kingdom 'till this period; but all Caledonia being now divided between them, we may from hence date the commencement of their reſpective Dynaſties, which ſubſiſted independent of each other, 'till the Scots ſwallowed up all in the reign of Kenneth the Second.

From this time the Scots appear to have continued not long without an eſtabliſhed monarch, but to have invited from Ireland Fergus, the ſon of Arcath, or Erk according to the Scottiſh writers,

writers, or Earca according to the Iriſh. Upon this head there is a conſiderable difference between the hiſtorians of the two nations; the firſt ſay that Areath or Erk was the father of Fergus; the ſecond aſſert that Earca was his mother, and the daughter of a Scottiſh chieftain. In this point I am rather inclined to be guided by the opinion of the Iriſh; becauſe the Scots have no hiſtorians extant, of any thing near the like antiquity with the Iriſh; beſides its carrying a great probability with it from other circumſtances that attend it. This Earca, the daughter of the aforeſaid Scot, is ſaid by the Iriſh to have been married to Muirdeach, king of Ireland. The eldeſt ſon ſucceeded his father, and ſtands in the liſt of kings by the name of Murtogh *Mc. Earca.* Now it is highly probable that, if the Scots thought proper to ſend for a king, as their own hiſtorians aſſert, they would prefer a prince, the ſon of a king who was alſo deſcended in a right line from one of their own chiefs, to any other perſon not ſo highly born. But ſince the elder brother was already heir apparent to a more valuable and antient kingdom, it is natural that their choice ſhould fall upon the ſecond ſon if the eldeſt declined it. The Iriſh hiſtorians farther aſſert, that his father made him on that occaſion a preſent of the famous Liah Fail or Stone of Deſtiny, on which the pagan Iriſh kings were uſed to be crowned; which continued to be appropriated to that uſe in Scotland 'till it was carried to Weſtminſter by Edward the Firſt, where it now remains. This account is alſo more conſiſtent with probability than the Scottiſh legend, of its having been brought from Ireland by one Fergus the Firſt, a monarch of their own country, and more antient by near eight centuries than the other. In the days of Paganiſm no Iriſh king would have parted with

with ſuch a myſterious relique; but as Ireland was then juſt become Chriſtian, we may ſuppoſe that it was little eſteemed; though Fergus the Second might think it would be of uſe to him to give his new ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration for his perſon and family, and prevent them from attempting to ſhake a throne thus eſtabliſhed by fate itſelf.

Antient GAELIC POEMS *reſpecting the Race of the* FIANS, *collected in the* HIGHLANDS *of* SCOTLAND *in the Year* 1784. *By* M. YOUNG, *D. D. M. R. I. A.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE great intereſt which has for ſome years been taken in the controverſy concerning the authenticity of Mc. Pherſon's Oſſian made me deſirous of collecting all the information in my power, during an excurſion through the Scottiſh Highlands in the ſummer of 1784. The following poems are part of the collection which I made at that time; and notwithſtanding Mr. Hill has done ſo much towards bringing this warmly conteſted queſtion to a decided iſſue, I imagined they might throw ſome new and additional light on the ſubject. I have therefore ventured to lay them before the Academy, with tranſlations, and a few explanatory notes. Read April 17, 1786.

MR. Mc. Pherſon is by many ſuppoſed to be the ſole and original author of the compoſitions which he has publiſhed as

tranſlations of the works of Oſſian; this charge I am enabled to refute, at leaſt in part, having fortunately met with the originals of ſome of them. Mr. Mc. Pherſon, I acknowledge, has taken very great liberties with them; retrenching, adding, and altering as he judged proper: But we muſt admit that he has diſcovered great ingenuity in theſe variations.

Mr. Hill, in his letters on this ſubject, having taken notice of the manner in which theſe tranſlations were made, according to Mr. Smith's own confeſſion (a gentleman who has likewiſe publiſhed a very elegant and beautiful collection of poems attributed to Oſſian and other Highland bards) namely, "that Mr. Mc. "Pherſon compiled his publications from thoſe parts of the "Highland ſongs which he moſt approved, combining them into "ſuch forms as, according to his ideas, were moſt excellent, "retaining the old names and leading events," complains, that until the originals are produced, no man can tell what is Oſſian's and what is Mc. Pherſon's.

This charge ſeems indeed to be an unanſwerable objection to the form in which theſe tranſlations have been given to the public. The manners, cuſtoms, laws, the ſtate of arts and ſciences amongſt the antient tribes of theſe countries; the order, imagery, and connection of their poetical remains, are the great objects of enquiry to the curious. They have therefore long been anxious to ſee, either the very poems themſelves in their primitive form, or ſuch tranſlations as have adhered faithfully to them. Until this be done, it will certainly be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the ancient from the modern, the real from the fictitious; and therefore,

fore, however we may admire them as beautiful compoſitions, we can never rely on their authority, in any queſtion of hiſtory, antiquity or criticiſm. Mr. Mc. Pherſon, I muſt alſo allow, is liable to cenſure for having altered the date of his originals, as well as their matter and form, having given them a much higher antiquity than they are really entitled to. On this ground it is that he ſtudiouſly ſuppreſſes all mention of St. Patrick, whoſe name frequently occurs in theſe poems, and only occaſionally alludes to him under the character of a Culdee, or one of the firſt Chriſtian miſſionaries into this country; for any mention of St. Patrick would have induced us to ſuſpect, that perhaps theſe poems were not in truth the compoſitions of Oſſian, but of thoſe Fileas who in later times committed to verſe the traditional relations of his exploits. We cannot adopt the opinion of ſome of the advocates for Mr. Mc. Pherſon, that he has only omitted ſuch paſſages as are of modern fabrication, and retained the genuine lines of Oſſian alone: and even granting that he had the faculty of diſtinguiſhing, by ſome unerring criterion, the genuine compoſition of Oſſian, he can never aſſure us, that he has ſo thoroughly attained the ſpirit of the bard, as that we may juſtly place his own inſertions and additions on the ſame level with them. He ought to have permitted the world to judge in theſe caſes for themſelves; and when he profeſſed himſelf to be merely a tranſlator, it ſhould ſeem he tranſgreſſed the limits of his province, when he preſumed either to add to or mutilate the originals. Of the degree of this ſtretch of his prerogative we may form ſome conjecture from the following circumſtance: One of the profeſſors of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, having

having entertained ſome doubts of the authenticity of the tranſlation, wrote to Mr. Mc. Arthur, miniſter of Mull, whoſe name has been mentioned in the courſe of this controverſy, requeſting that he would ſend him ſome of the originals from which the tranſlation had been made. Mr. Mc. Arthur, in his anſwer, told the profeſſor " that there were many of the ſpu-
" rious Iriſh ſongs wandering through the country; but to ſatisfy
" his ſcruples he ſent him the four following fragments, as ex-
" tracts from the genuine poems of Oſſian:"

FRAGMENT I.

Gum be ſin an tuirlean teann
Mar dhean a bheireadh da chiad ord
Cath fuileach an da ri
Gum bu guineach bri an colg,
Air briſteadh don ſgiathaibh deirg
Air eirigh dam feirg 's dam fraoch
Hilg iad airm ſios gu lar
'S thug iad ſpairn an do laoch
Cath fuileach ſin an da ri
Sann linne bu chian an cloſs
Bha clachan is talamh trom
Am oſgladh fuidh bhonn an cos.

See Fingal, B. 5, deſcription of the fight between Fingal and Swaran.

FRAGMENT

FRAGMENT II.

Seachd altruin Lochlain lain
Diongaidh miſe fath gun ſgeilg,
Se thuirt an Toſcar bu mhor pris
Luigear chugamſa Ri Innſe Tore,
E fein 'ſa dha chomhairleach dheug
'S leigear eidir mi fein s'an coſg.
Iarla Mugha ga mor a ghlonn,
Se thuirt Diarmaid donn gun ghuin,
Coiſgidh miſe ſin gar fein
Air mo tuitidh mi fein air a ſhon:
Se feumachas ghabhas fein
Ge 'ta mi mar chi tu mi nochd,
Ri Tearmain na'n comhrag teann
'S gu'n ſgarain a cheann r'a chorp.
Beiridh beannachd, beiridh buaidh
Thuirt Mac Cumhail nan gruaidh dearg,
Mac ſin ri Lochlain nan ſtuadh
Diongaidh miſe ga mhor fhearg.

See B. 5, *Fingal on the ſame ſubject.*

FRAGMENT III.

Cha choineadh bean a mac fein,
Cha mho choineadh fear a bhrathair,
Na bha ſin gu leir mun teach
Bha ſuin uile caoineadh Oſcair.

THEN,

"THEN," ſays Mr. Mc. Arthur, "follows Oſcar's own ſpeech:"

Donnalich na'n con re'm thaobh,
Agus burich nan ſean laoch,
Is gul a bhannail mu'n ſeach
Gur e ſud a chradh mi'm chriodh;
Cha do fhidir duine riamh
Criodha feola bhi am chliabh
Ach criodhe do chuibhne cuir.

"THE *cuibhne cuir* is the caſt horn of a deer," ſays he, "and is "reckoned extremely hard."

See the death of Oſcar, B. I, Temora.

FRAGMENT IV.

Guibeadh tu ſin is ceud each
Is fear ris an deachaidh ſrian,
Is ceud marcadh air am muin
Len earra ſhroil on laſſadh grian:
Gheibeadh tu ſin is ceud corn
Ni don uiſge ghorm an ſion,
Ge be aſda dh' olas deach
Cha d' theid a dhochartas am mead.
—— Mur gabh tu ſin ——
Thoir leat do bhean, 's dean ruinne ſithe.

See the battle of Lora.

THE firſt and ſecond fragments are extracted from the poem entitled *Oſſin agus an Clerich*, which is in Mr. Hill's collection, and

and is current in Ireland *. The third is taken from the *Marbh-rann Oſcair*; and the fourth from the poem entitled *Oran eadar Ailte agus do Maronnan*, a copy of which is amongſt the Iriſh manuſcripts in the library of the college of Dublin. It appears, therefore, that theſe ſpurious Iriſh ballads, as they are called by Mr. Mc. Pherſon and Mr. Mc. Arthur, are the very originals out of which the former compiled his Oſſian.

I WAS much ſurprized to find, that out of ſo large a work as the Temora, Fingal, and all the other ſhorter poems, Mr. Mc. Arthur ſhould happen to ſelect only ſuch paſſages as occurred in the Erſe ſongs which fell into Mr. Hill's hands or mine. This ſeems to indicate that the foundation of Mr. Mc. Pherſon's Oſſian is much narrower than, perhaps, we might otherwiſe have ſuſpected.

IN fragment the firſt, Mr. Mc. Arthur has multiplied two hammers into an hundred, by inſerting the word *chiad:* Though this be not ſo juſt as the original, yet it is a grander image, and more agreeable to Mr. Mc. Pherſon's tranſlation.

IN fragment the ſecond, for *Manus Mac Gharra nan Sloigh*, he ſubſtitutes *Mac ſin ri Lochlain nan ſluagh*; becauſe Manus, a name of later times, does not occur in Mc. Pherſon.

THE following poems are tranſcribed letter for letter from the copies now current in the Highlands, except ſo far as they

* A beautiful copy of this poem is preſerved in the library of the univerſity of Dublin; it is entitled *Laoi Mhanuis Mhoir.* A mutilated copy of it is printed in the Perth edition, p. 18, under the title of *Combrag Fheinn agus Mhanuis.*

have been corrected by the edition lately publiſhed at Perth, of which I ſhall have occaſion to make further mention hereafter. In other places, therefore, they will be found very incorrect: But this cannot be an object of ſurprize; for as the Erſe was not a written language 'till within theſe few years, there were no means of forming any ſtandard for the writer; the orthography, therefore, depended on his own fancy. But after the Iriſh Bible was printed in the Roman letter by Mr. Kirke, in the year 1690, for the uſe of the Highlands, where the Iriſh character was unknown *, and other religious tracts had been publiſhed, there was then formed a kind of ſtandard; and if we may reaſon from the remarkable improvement which has ſince † taken

* The title-page runs in the following words: " Tiomna nuadh, &c. noch " ata anios ar mhaithe choitchinn *Gaoidhealtacht Albann*, athruighte go haireach " as an litir *Eireandha*, go mion-litre ſhoi-leighidh Romhanta, &c. le R. Kirke, " M. A. bli. 1690;" that is, " The New Teſtament, &c. which now, for the " public good of the Gaels of Scotland, is carefully altered from the Iriſh letter " to the neater Roman letter, which is more eaſily read, &c. by R. Kirke, in the " year 1690." On this title-page we may obſerve, that the Iriſh letter in the year 1690 was unknown, at leaſt generally, in the Highlands; and that the Highlanders have the epithet *Alban* attributed to them in direct contradiction to the aſſertion of Mr. Mc. Pherſon, who tells us, that they are called *Gael* emphatically, but that the Iriſh have the epithet of *Eirinnach* added to diſtinguiſh them from the original ſtock; whereas we here find that the diſtinguiſhing epithet is applied to the Highlanders, and therefore, as far as this argument goes, it proves Ireland to be the mother country.

† Mr. Mc. Pherſon once was of opinion, that the beauty of Erſe writing conſiſted in its " not being briſtled over with unneceſſary, quieſcent conſonants, like the Iriſh," as he has expreſſed himſelf in his notes on the 7th B. of Temora. But the learned Colonel Vallancey, to whom the Celtic literature of this country owes ſo much,

taken place, we may ſoon expect to ſee the Erſe reſtored to that original purity which it poſſeſſes in the mother country.

In the annexed tranſlations, elegance of expreſſion has not been ſought after, my only wiſh being to give a clear and faithful idea of theſe antient ſongs. In many places I fear they may be incorrect: This is partly to be attributed to the corrupt and uncertain orthography of the originals; and partly to my imperfect knowledge of the language, in which I by no means pretend to be ſkilful. However, upon the whole, I believe no errors of material conſequence have eſcaped me; but if there be ſuch, the originals are at hand by which they may be corrected.

much, ſhewed him how thoroughly he was miſtaken in this matter: and the beauty of Erſe orthography, as may be ſeen in the late publications at Perth, is now rightly thought to conſiſt in its conformity with Iriſh, and to its being briſtled with thoſe very conſonants which to Mr. Mc. Pherſon appeared to be ſo great a deformity.

OSSIAN's COURTSHIP *of* EVIRALLIN*.

HE is a dog[a] who is not compliant—But I tell you, wanton girl, I once was valiant in battle, though now I am worn out with years. When we went to the lovely Evir of the ſhining hair, the maid of the white hand, the diſdainful favourite of Cormac, we went to Loch Lego, twelve men the moſt valiant beneath the ſun[b]. Would you know our determined reſolution? It was to make cowards fly before us. Bran, the ſon of Leacan, mildly but firmly ſaluted the noble and valiant band, that never was ſtained by any diſgrace. He then enquired of us, in friendly terms, the occaſion of our coming? Caoilte anſwered for us, " to aſk your daughter."

* The original of this poem is given very correctly in the collection of Gaelic poems, publiſhed in Perth in 1786, by Mr. Gillies, an active and ſpirited printer, to whom the Erſe language is, on many accounts, much indebted.

[a] The opening of this poem is very obſcure; however, the tradition, handed down together with it, clears up the difficulty. Oſſian, when advanced in years, being oppreſſed with extreme hunger, had recourſe to a young woman who had often ſupplied him with milk. She made him ſome propoſal which did not ſuit the delicacy of his feelings; and, on his refuſal, ſhe called him an old *dog*. This ſong was his reply to her on that occaſion.—We cannot too much admire the ingenious

SUIREADH OISEIN *air* EAMHAIR-ALUINN.

Is Cuth-duine far nach ionmhuin
Deirimſe riutſa nighean iunnſai,
Gu'n raibh mi 'm dhea laoch air bheirt eile,
Ge ta mi 'm ſheann laoch ſan latha-ſo'.
Latha gu'n deachaidh leinn
Eamhair aluinn fholt-ghrinn,
Nighean bu gheal-lamhach glac,
Leannan coigrich Chormaig.
Ghluais ſinn gu ſoith Locha Leige
An da fhear-dheug a' b' fhear foi 'n ghrein,
Ge b'e dh' fhidireadh ar run,
Romhain bu theichmheach droch cuth.
Bheannuich an ſin Bran Mac Leacan
D'an-t' ſluagh aluinn, ard, gheal-ghlacach
Gu narach, treoireach, neo-mheata,
Nach do phill ſcannal no aſcal.
Dh' fharaid e dh' inn, an gloir bhinn,
Ciod e an taiſc mu'n d' thainig ſinn?
Caoilte fhreagair air ar ceann,
A dh' iarraidh do nighin ortſa.

genious and poetical manner in which Mr. Mc. Pherſon has introduced this little poem, as an epiſode, in the 4th Book of Fingal.

Mr. Mc. Pherſon inſiſts, without any authority from the original (ſee the edition of Perth) that theſe were *ſons of ſtreamy Morven*, in order to confirm his erroneous opinion, that Oſſian was alſo of that country.

Bran. For whom do you aſk her?

Caoilte. For the noble Oſſian, ſon of Fin.

Bran. And you ſhall not be denied, O valiant chief, renowned in battle.

Then Bran ſaid, and he did not ſpeak a falſehood, " if I " had twelve daughters, ſuch is his fame amongſt the Fians, " Oſſian ſhould have the firſt." The bright apartment, conſtructed of poliſhed brown ſtone, was opened to us. Amaze filled us all when we beheld the lovely Evir of the golden curled hair. When the noble Evir ſaw Oſſian, ſon of Fin, chief of the Fians, the maid of the beauteous countenance gave the love of her ſoul to the valiant ſon. We then went to Drum-da-horc, where Cormac waited boldly for us with ſeven well-armed companies.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The army of Cormac, confident of ſucceſs, appeared on the mountain like a bright flame of fire. The warlike Cormac led on eight champions, equal in deeds of fame, of the race of the Firbolgs; Macolla, and Durra of wounds, the ſon of the valiant Toſcair, and Taog, ſtout Freaſdal, the ſon of a king; Daire of great courage in action; Daol, greatly perſeverant in the combat, and the ſtandard of the warlike Cormac in his hand. The noble Oſſian led on eight heroes, all equal in the rough battle, however deſperate. Mulla, Mac-Scein, and Fial;

Co dha ta ſibh ga h' iarraidh ?
Do dh' Oiſein uaſal mac Fheinn ;
'Si mo nearac a gheabh thu,
A Loich laidir long-phortaich.
Labhair Bran 's ni dubhairt breug,
Ge do bhiodh agam da nighin deug,
Aig feabhas do chluith ſan Feinn,
Bhiodh a ceud nighean aig Oiſein.
Dh' fhoſgladh dhuinn an Grianan corr,
Air a thuthadh do chloth dhuinn,
Lion meanmna ſinn uile,
'G amharc Eamhair chas-fholt bhuidhe.
'Nuair a chunnairc Eamhair fhial
Oiſein Mac Fhinn flath na 'm Fiann,
Thug an ribhinn a b' aille dreach
Gaol a h anma d' an dea' mhac.
Gu'n ghluais ſinn gu Druim-da-thorc,
'S bha Cormac romhain na Long-phort
'Se dar feitheamh gu dana
Le ſeachd catha d'an dea' mhalaidh.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Sluagh Chormaig gu'n do-chas
Aig na ghabh an ſliabh bla-laſair.
Ochd-fhear do bhi aig Cormag cruinn
Ionnan ann gniomh, dh' Fhearaibh-Bolg,
Mac Colla is Daire nan creuchd,
Mac Toſcair treun agus Taog :
Freaſdal baghach mac an Righ,
Daire na'n gniomh bu mhor agh,
Daol bu mhaith fulang 'ſa chuing,
'S meirge Chormaig cruinn na laimh.
Ochd fhear bhi aig Oiſein ard,
Ionnan ſa chath gharg gu dhian
Mulla mac Scein agus Fial,

the honeſt Scelacha, a chief of the Fians; Fillan, and bearded Cairioll; Dumarivan, whoſe ſword was not gentle; and Ogar[c], leading on his band, advanced againſt the Firbolgs. Toſcar fought, Daol fought, face to face, in the preſence of the armies: The conteſt of theſe two valiant chiefs was as the waves that are poured out by the wind upon a rocky ſhore—It was the conflict of two lions[d]. Toſcar did not draw his dagger to wound; and though the ſkill of the combatants was great, the warm blood guſhed from their wounds in rapid ſtreams. Toſcar remembered his dagger, a weapon prized by the valiant hero; he plunged it nine times in the ſide of Daol. For a little time Daol continued the fight. This conteſt ſtunned the armies, like the ſound of a ſledge upon the anvil; but Oſſian gained every moment ſome advantage in the ſevere conflict. Oſſian cleft fifty ſhields upon the mountain; and Cormac, ſon of Art, broke fifty blue ſwords upon the hill. I cut off the head of Cormac there upon the mountain, before the fall of night. I then returned to the prince[e] of Ireland, the hero's head in my hand by the hair.

[c] Mr. M'Pherſon inſiſts, as before, without any authority from the original (ſee the edition of Perth) that Ogar was from *the hills of Ardven.*

[d] This does not very well accord with the criticiſms of Dr. Blair: "Every "country," ſays he, "has a ſcenery peculiar to itſelf, and the images of a good "poet will exhibit it. The introduction of *foreign images* betrays a poet copying, "not from nature, but from *other writers.* Hence ſo many lions, tigers, eagles "and ſerpents which we meet with in the ſimiles of modern poets. Oſſian is "very correct in this particular. His imagery is *without exception* copied from that "face of nature which he *ſaw before his eyes.*" On this occaſion we muſt obſerve, that Dr. Blair's criticiſms are fitted to Mr. Mc. Pherſon's Oſſian, not to the originals, with which he had no acquaintance.

[e] By

Sgeulaiche fior flath na feinn.
Faolan agus Cairioll cas,
Dubh mac Ribhinn nìor thais colg;
Tofcar an tus, fiar a chlann,
Chaidh foi 'n chrann an ceann na 'm Fearbolg.
Thachair Tofcar thachair Daol,
Taobh re taobh an lath'r an t' fluagh,
Bha comhrag an da churaidh chaoimh,
Mar gu'n doirteadh gaoth a cuan:
Bu chomrag dha leomhain fin,
'S cha 'n iarradh e fcian d an guin,
Ge bu mhaith faoirfinneachd na'm fear.
Bu cheo na taofgaibh amfuil.
Chuimnich Tofcar air an fcein,
Arm bu mhian leis an fhear mhaith,
Chuir e naoi guine an taobh Dhaoil,
Sealan beag mu'n chlaon an cath.
Bha comhraig ag borbadh an t' fluaigh,
Mar fhuaim uird le dearnaibh lamh
Ag earraidh gu Oifein gach uair
'S an cath cruaidh do bheir e dhoibh.
Do fcoilt Oifein air an t' fliabh,
Caogad fciath gu Cormag cruinn,
'S gu 'n bhris Cormag mac Art,
Caogad lann ghlas air an druim.
Thugas an ceann do Chormag cruinn
Air an t' fliabhfa gus a nochd,
'S gu 'n do ghluais gu Flaith Fail,
'S an ceann fin am lamh air fholt.

[c] By *Flaith Fail* in the original, *the prince of Ireland*, is probably meant Fion-Mac-Cumhal, who is often, in thefe ancient poems, called *Fionn Fail*, and *Flaith na Bhfian*; that is, *Fionn of Ireland*, and *prince of the Fians*.

The LAMENTATION *of the* WIFE *of* DARGO[a].

I AM the wife of Dargo, ſon of Collath, a man who knew no fault. Every hero muſt at length be ſtretched out in death—ſorrowful am I to-night!

DARGO, ſon of Collath, branch of the Clouds; beautiful amidſt a thouſand; anger never ſat upon his countenance: Dargo, that fell by a boar!

WITH his hawk and two dogs he collected the game in the fields: Dargo, who took pleaſure in them, to-night is buried in the grave!

PLEASANT and lovely was thy cheek; it did not betray fear in battle; thy heart was generous and open, and thy complexion brighter than the ſun!

NEVER didſt thou refuſe thy aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed, nor protect the unjuſt; wert guilty of no falſhood, nor ever didſt thou decline the combat of arms with any man.

[a] See the notes on the poem called Calthon and Colmal, by M'Pherſon. The original of this poem is very correctly printed in the Perth edition of Gaelic poems.

MARBH RAN DEIRG.

AN Dearg Mac Collath, gur mife a bhean,
Sud am fear nach diddir lochd ;
'Sni bhuil faoidh nach dfhuair a leireadh,—
'Struagh ata me fein a nochd !
Dearg Mac Collath craobh na neol,
An ti le theinte gu caoin cruth ;
B' ionmhuin an aoigh nach luigh fearg air ;
Chlaoidheadh an Dearg leis a mhuic.
Sud a Sheabhac 'fa dha choin
Leis an goirt cron na fealg ;
An ti leis am b'ionmhuin an triuir
Cuirthi a nochd fan uir an Dearg !
B' ionmhuin taghaid mhin Dearg mhor
B' deacor an clo 'fan chath ;
Marri criodhe farfing faoligh
Bu ghealach no grian do dhath !
Nior dhiult thu duine mad chuid,
Nior roinn breug 'f ni dhidean lochd ;
Ni mo a dhuilt thu comhrag arm
O neach do bhi anam na chorp !

NEVER didſt thou refuſe, nor never aſk a favour: I never ſaw a form more fair and lovely than Dargo's.

I AM the daughter of Laoman, ſon of Ruo, for whom gold was wrought with much art: Though many valiant men courted me, I choſe to be the wife of Dargo.

THE ſon of wealthy Saine was my ſuitor; he was rich in goods and poſſeſſions; but the ſword of Dargo, in the time of ſpoil, cared not whether horſes or oxen were his plunder.

I AND my hero were contented on the mountain of Noc-Lartho: I will be laid in the grave to-night, and my body ſhall not be ſeparated from Dargo's.

Nor dhiult e daoine mu ni,
'Sni n' diar ni air neach fui n' ghrein;
An ti bu mho 'ſ bu mhaith dealbh dhin
'S ni 'n faiceas an ach Dearg fein!
'S mi ninghean Laoman mhic Ruaidh
Don ti na freantigh oir le ceard;
Ge bu lionmhor ga m' iarruidh ſaoi,
Bear leam thi m' mhnaoi aig an Dearg
Mac Saoigne na iognadh dho bhi,
B' ionmhuin ri air ſonn 'ſ air ſealoh;
Guilla gun ghaol bo na eachaibh
Re am criachach cloidheamh Dheirg!
Cha bi me s'an laoch a riarach
Air an tſliabh ſin cnoc an Leirg;
Sgu m' bith me ſan uaigh a nochd,
'S cha ſgathrar mo chorp re Deirg!——

The COMBAT *of* CON[a] *Son of* DARGO, *and* GAUL *Son of* MORNÈ.

THE tale of Con, ſon of Dargo, who, filled with heavy wrath, went to revenge his innocent father[b] on the Chiefs of Ireland[c].

ST. PATRICK[d]. Relate, oh! thou of pleaſant tales, the ſtory of the valiant Con, the brave and beautiful hero. Who was greater in action, oh! Oſſian of ſweet words, or who more beautiful in countenance, than the ſon of Dargo!

OSSIAN. The valiant champion ſat upon a hill before us; he approached us in wrath, like an eagle piercing through the clouds.

[a] He is called *Cuthon* by Mr. Smith. See Gaelic antiquities, p. 293. This entire ſtory has been ſo altered by Mr. Smith, that nothing remains in common with the original but the names. See the edition of Perth, p. 39.

[b] His father had been ſlain in ſingle combat by Gaul, ſon of Mornè.

[c] Mr. Smith has perverted this paſſage, in order to deprive Ireland of the honor, *ſi qua eſt ea gloria*, of being the reſidence of Fingal's heroes. The line, which in the original runs thus:

Air

SGEULACHD *air* CHONN MAC *an* DEIRG.

SGEUL air Chonn Mac an Deirg
Air a lionadh le trom fhearg,
Dol a dhioladh athar guin fheall,
Air mor mhaithaibh na Eirion.
Aithris thuſa, Shuairce, Shog'radhach,
Sgeul air Chonn fear fearrail,
An ſonn calma, 's è caomh, ceannail,
Co 's mo glonn na 'n Dearg mor
Oſſian nam briathra binn bheoil;
Ri mbionnan dealbh dho na dreach
'S do n' Chonn mhor, mhear, mheanmnach?
Shuidh è air an tulaich gar coir
Am fui curanta ro mhor,
'S ghabhadh e le chleaſaibh garg
Am bailraibh nan iarmailte.
Chuaith e m[d] frithlannaibh na neul,

Air mor maithibh na Eirion,
He alters to the following:
Air uaiſlibh 's air maithibh na Feine.
And the like change is made in the edition of Perth.

[d] This introduction of St. Patrick is omitted in the Perth edition.

Diſmay ſeized us at his appearance. He exceeded every one in beauty, Con of the ſharp-edged weapons; his purple cheek like poliſhed yew; his eye quick moving under his narrow eye-brows; his hair like wrought gold falling in ringlets down the back of the valiant chief; the envenomed dagger to wound his adverſary, the cauſe of great woe; and the ſword hanging by the ſide of his ſhield. He obtained the victory in every conteſt by his valour and great deeds. He took his ſtrong armour with ſpeed, and ſpoke of taxes and great tribute. I tell you truly, oh! Patrick [e], though it be diſgraceful to confeſs it, that greater fear never ſeized the Fians than when they beheld Con in his wrath ruſhing on like a rapid flood; ſo great was his rage againſt us to revenge the death of his father.

By the counſel of the valiant ſon of Fin, of the clear voice, we ſent the ſweet-tongued Fergus to inquire of the ſinewy ſon of Dargo. Fergus ſaluted, and Con, in due order, anſwered. Then Fergus, the ſweet-tongued bard, the meſſenger of Fin, ſaid "for what cauſe have you come to Ireland [f]?"

[e] This addreſs of Oſſian to St. Patrick is omitted in the Perth edition.

[f] Fingal and his heroes are here expreſsly attributed to Ireland; but the line is altered into the following, in the Perth edition:

Ciod é fath do thuruis do'n tir?

i. e. For what cauſe have you come to this country?

B' uamhas dhuinne bhi fui mhein ;
Nin aile neach ata fui n' ghrein
No Conn nan arm faobhar gheur.
Gruaidh chorcair mar iubhar caoin,
Rofg chorrach ghorm na malla chaoil,
Folt or-cheard nan amlaibh grinn,
Gu mor, meanmneach, aithneach, aoibhin.
Lanna nimhe re leadairt chorp,
Le colg teagmhail na mor olc ;
Bhiodh a chloidheam re fga fgeith
Aig an laoch gun aimh-reite.
Buaidh gach ball an raibh e riamh,
Air gaifge, 's air mhor ghniomh
Gabhail a choimhlion, neart gun fgios ;
'Se labhairt geal 's mor chis.
Bheirinfin dhuit briathra cinnteach,
A Phadruic, ga nàr re innfeadh,
Gun do ghabh an Fhiann eagal uill,
Nach do ghabhas riamh roimh aon duine,
Ri faicfin dhoibh conbhach Chuin,
Mar ro tuill thuighean fui thuinn
Meud fhallachd an fhir dhuinn
An eiric athar a dhioladh.
Se comhairle a chinn doibh,
Deagh mhac fhinn on gloine gloir
Chuir ghabhail fgeul an fhir dhochdur,
Fearghus beul dearg binn-fhoclach.
Do mhac an Deirg bu gharg gleac
Bheannuigh Fearghus gu fior-ghlic :
Fhreagair Conn e mar bu choir,
Fheargus fhileanta, deagh bheoil,
" A ghabhail fgeul a thainig on Fhionn,
" Ciod e fath do thuruis do dh' Eirion ?"

Con. "I will tell you, O Fergus, and then farewell—to "revenge my father on the noble Fians of Ireland[g]. I demand "the head of Fin and his two valiant ſons, of Gaul and "Criomthan, and the noble Art, and of all the tribe of Morne; "the head of Cormac, ſon of Art, and of Fin; and all the "men in Ireland[h] from ſea to ſea ſhall with one accord obey "me, or early in the morning five hundred muſt contend with "me in the ſharp and buſy combat."

"What is thy meſſage, Fergus," (ſaid Fin, prince of the hoſt,) "from the great champion; tell us quickly, and do not "conceal from us the evil?"

This, (ſays Fergus) is the anſwer of the great champion;—he demands the combat of five hundred of your army in the morning in the ſharp and buſy conteſt. "Then," replied five hundred of the Fians, "to-morrow he ſhall not boaſt of his vigour;" but thoſe who engaged in the battle did not do as they had promiſed. Five hundred fell round the ſon of Dargo, of the well-tempered ſword, and five hundred more, had they been there, would have been

[g] The Perth edition changes *A mhaithibh Fiahn Eirion*, "the noble Fians of "Ireland," into *O'r maithibh is or mor uaiſlibh*, "the nobles and great chieftains."

[h] Inſtead

CON. Bheirinſe mo ſgeul dhuit,
Fheargus, agus b'annſa leat ——
Eiric m' athar b'aill leam uaibhſe,
A mhaithibh Fiann Eirion.
Ceann Fhin 'sa dha mhic mhoir,
Ceann Ghuil, 's Criomthan, 's Artair,
S cinn chloinneadh Morne uille,
Gun ſeachnadh aon duine.
Ceann Cormaic mhic Art 's Fhinn,
'S bfuill ſibh an Eirion, o thuin gu tuinn,
A gheileach duin don aon chuim,
No comhrag cuig ceud uaibhſe,
Moch air maidin a maireach,
Gu comhrag meara didhalach.

FIN. Cia do ſgeul on fhear mhor,
(Se labhair Fionn flath an t' ſloigh,)
Innis Fearghus e gu grud,
'S na ceil oirne a dhion-olc.

FERGUS. Se mo ſgeulſa on fhear mhor,
Gur 'aill leis comhrag cuig ceud d'ar ſloigh,
A muigh air maidin a maireach,
Gu comhrag meara, didhalach.
'Se labhair cuig ceud d'ar Feine,
" Caiſgear leinne a luathmhire."
Ach cha raibh mar a radh,
Do'n droing a chuaidh ſan iomairt.
Le mac an Deirg bu chruaidhe lann,
Thuit air cuig ceud mu thiomchioll,
Cuig ceud eile, ged' bhi ann,

[b] Inſtead of *Eirion*, " Ireland," the Perth edition ſubſtitutes *An tir uile*, " the " whole land."

ſlain together. Con ſtruck his ſhield and oppoſed his ſingle hand to all. We choſe ſeven ſcore valiant men of the chiefs of our army to cut off the head of the ſon of Dargo. Then might you ſee Fion in heavy rage. Con ruſhed upon our men like a hawk upon a flight of ſmall birds. Many were the groans and ſhouts; many were the diſmembered hands and legs; many were the heads and bodies lying in heaps without diſtinction. Seven ſcore valiant men fell by Con, which was the cauſe of great woe and ſorrow. Then ſaid bald Conan, ſon of Mornè, " Let me encounter this champion, and I will " bring off the head of the furious and inſulting Con." " Ill " fortune attend you, bald Conan (ſaid Oſcar of great deeds) " will you never lay aſide your inſolence? Never will you " bring off the head of Con from the battle." The raſh Conan, againſt the wiſhes of the Fians, advanced to meet the victorious Con; but his attempt was unfortunate. When Con of graceful form ſaw Conan ſeize his arms, he made but an half effort againſt the coward, who fled haſtily from him. Often did he ſcream, and often ſhriek,

Gum bithead marbh air aon bhall;
'S Conn a cailceadh a ſgiath,
'S ire comhrag gu aon-riar.
Thagh ſinn ſeachd fichead fear mor,
Do mhaithibh teaghluich air ſloigh,
Thoirt a chinn do mhac an Deirg,
Gum faiceas Fion fui throm fhearg.
Thug e roimh ar fir an grain,
Mar ſeabhag roimh mhin ealt eun.
Iomadh och is gaire bhos,
Iomadh lamh agus le chos,
Iomadh cloiggion, iomadh ceann,
Cuirp gan coighleadh air aon bhall.
Thuit ar ſeachd fichead fear mor,
B' adhbhar tuirſe 's dobhron.
'N' ſin labhair Connan maol mac Morni,
CONAN. " Leigthear miſe thuig an ceudna,
" 'S gu m' buinnin an ceann deth,
" Do Chonn dimheaſach ainteadh."
OSCAR. " Marbhaiſc ort a Chonnan maoil
" Nir ſguireas tu dod lonan a chaoidh,
" Ni thugain tu an ceann do Chonn,"
(Se labhair Oſcar na mor g'lonn.)
Ghluaiſe Connan mu mhicheil
A dhaindeoin na Feine gu leir,
An codhial Chuinn bhuaghaich bhrais
Mar char tuadhail ga aimhleas.
'Nuair chunnairc Chonn bu chain dealbh,
Connan a dol an ſeilbh arm,
Thug e le-ſic air an daor
'Se teicheadh da thigh gu falbh uaith.
'S iomadh ſcread, is iolach cruaidh,

and many were the blows that fell thick upon his cowardly head, when he was bound neck, hands and heels. " Thanks to " the hand that did this deed (ſaid Fionn of majeſtic form) " unproſperous has been your journey, O raſh bald-headed " Conan." We then went, the chiefs of the Fianns, together in council to the houſe of my father.

FIN. " O Gaul, ſon of Mornè, of great deeds and excellent " underſtanding, who are accuſtomed to give reaſon for reaſon " in all diſcourſe, I pray you bring us boldly the head of that " champion who thus inſults you and the nobles of the Fianns, " as you formerly brought us the head of his father[i]."

GAUL. " I will obey you in this, O Fin of ſoothing words; " let us leave our enmity and hatred[k] behind us, and reunite " in friendſhip. Skilful art thou in healing the wounds of the " hoſtile mind. I and my warriors of ſtrength ſhall ſerve you, " O noble prince of the Fians."

GAUL went like a firm bulwark in the preſence of the army; the red countenance of the hero in the beginning of the combat was like a ſpreading ſail.

[i] The combat in which Gaul performed this exploit is related in an Iriſh poem called *Laoidh an Deirg*; and the muſic to which it was antiently ſung is ſtill preſerved in the Highlands of Scotland, and has been lately publiſhed in Mc. Donald's collection of Highland airs.

[k] There

'S ioma cnap is maile is meall,
A dha ſuas air a dhroch ceann ;
Ar maol Chonnan gu reamhar,
'Sa chuig caol ſan aon cheangal.
" Beannachd aig an laimh rinn ſud,"
(Se labhair Fionn a chro-ſhnuagh)
" Gu ma turus gun eirigh dhuit,
" A Chonan è-ceilidh gun fholt."
Sheall ſin an ſin air a cheil,
Moran do mhaithaibh na Feine
Retir theaghlaich m' athair fein,
B' fhear meoghair is deagh mhein.
FIN. " Gholl mhic Mhornè na mor ghniomh
" O's tu a chleachd comhradh air comhradh riabh,
" On ti ata bagradh ort,
" 'Sair moran do mhaithaibh na Feine ;
" Gun tugadh an ceann gu fearrail dheth,
" Mar thug thu do athair roimhe."
GAUL. " Gu 'd deanainſa ſin duit Fhinn,
" Fhir nam briathra bla binn,
" Cuirreamaid fuarachd 's folachd air cul,
" 'S bimaid uill a dh' aon run :
" Gud mharbhadh tu m' fhionn
" Gun di ſeachadh aon duine ;
" Bhithin fein 's mo treine leat,
" A righ na Feinne, 'gad chabhair."
Ghluais Gholl, na chulaidh chruaidh,
Ann an lathair na mor ſhluaigh ;
Sgu 'm bu geall dearg gnuis an fhir
Le ſeol gairge an tus iargail.

[k] There had been violent diſputes between the families of Fin and Gaul, ſon of Mornè.

Fierce was the encounter of the two champions. The ground ſhook with the violence of their blows. The Fians ſtood liſtening. Many ſparks of red fire flew over their well-helmed heads, they remembering their antient enmity—ſtreams of fire from their naked arms—ſtreams of blood from their wounded bodies—ſhowers of ſplinters from their ſhields of valour. Nine days they fought—mothers and ſons were weary of the combat. At length the great Con fell by Gaul of wounds. Fin and the Fians of his train raiſed a ſhout of joy when they beheld Gaul the ſon of Morne ſtanding over the valiant Con, and Conan's foul diſgrace revenged. Nine nights was the valiant Gaul curing of his wounds, liſtening to the ſong by day and night, and diſtributing rich preſents to the ſkilful bards. Seven ſcore and five hundred of the Fians fell by the great ſon of Dargo. Fin bewailed the loſs.

Ghluais iad an ceann a cheile
Nan do churraidh bu ghairge cith:
A chuireadh an fhaich air bhall chrith,
Le beumaibh builie na 'm fear mor,
'Sa n Fhionn uile ga 'n eiſteachd;
'S iomadh caoir theine ruagh,
O bheul nan arm fhaobhar cruaidh,
Os cionn nan ceann bheartach corrach,
'S iad a cuimhneachadh na mor fholachd:
Cith teine on armaibh nocht,
Cith foladh do chneaſaibh an cuirp,
Cith cailce do ſgiathaibh an aigh,
Dol uatha 'ſna h iormailte.
Naoi laethe 's aon tra deug
Bu tuirſeach mic agus mnai,
Gus an do thuit le Goll nam beum
Conn mor air lom eigin,
Gair aoibhnis thug an Fhionn,
Agus an Fiann a bhi gan reir,
Re faicſin dhoibh Ghuill mhic Mhorn,
An uachdar air Chonn treun togha,
S Conan ga thoirt a ſas
An deigh lonnan a mhi ghrais.
Naoi naidhin do Gholl an aigh
Ga leigheas mun raibh e ſlan,
Ag eiſteachd ceoil a dhoich ſa la,
'Sa pronnadh or fa throm dhaimh.
Air ſeachd fichead 's air cuig ceud
Thuit dar feinne adhmhor dhearg,
'S bu grain air Fionn da reir.

The COMBAT *of* OSGAR *and* ILLAN, *Son of the King of Spain.*

ST. PATRICK. OH! noble Oſſian, ſon of Fin, that ſitteſt upon the pleaſant hill; valiant chief, I behold ſorrow dwelling on thy brow.

OSSIAN. Is there not cauſe for my ſorrow, [a] O Patrick! when I think upon the Fians who once uſed to meet together on this hill? One day, as we were all together, holy Patrick, of excellent judgment, the heroes of Fin were joyful. On that day, I ſay, when we were all together on this hill, where we uſed to aſſemble, we ſaw a ſolitary damſel coming toward us on the plain. Her countenance was lovely, her cheeks were red and white, and her neck above her fine garments was brighter than the ſun-beams.

[a] This prefatory dialogue of Oſſian with St. Patrick is omitted in the Perth edition, page 35.

DAN *na h* INGHIN.

PATRICK. OISSEIN uafal a mhic Finn
'S tu ad ſhuidhe air an tulaich eibhin,
A laoich mhili nach meat
Gum faic miſe bron air tinntin.

OSSIAN. Tha aobhar aig mo bron fein,
A Phadruic 's ni canam breug,
A bhi cuimhneach air Fiannaibh Fhinn,
Abhair an tulaich ſa dhaon riar
Ladha bha ſinn uille araon,
Padruic naomha nam breath ſaor,
Chunnaic miſe teaghlach Fhinn,
Gu mor meadhrach, mear, eibhin.
Ladha bha ſinn uile 'n Fhiann
Air an tulaich ſa dfhann riar,
Chunnic ſinn aon bhean ſa mhagh,
'S i tochd chugainne na haonar.
Bi a 'ninghean ab ailde ſnuagh,
Bu geal is bu dearg a gruaidh ;
Bu ghile na gach gath greine,
A brag'ad ſhuas fuidh caomh leine.

A golden neck-lace ſurrounded her ſoft neck, and poliſhed bracelets of gold bound her arms, and her fair and lovely ſkin was covered with the ſofteſt ſattin. Greater love ſeized all the heroes of Fin of Almhuin[b] for this damſel than ever they had felt before. The white-handed fair put herſelf under the protection of Fin, and of Gaul, that intrepid warrior, and of Oſgar, the ſon of Oſſian, and of valiant Chaol, the ſon of Rugar.

The Damsel. "I put myſelf under your protection, Oh! "nobles of the Fians, princes and chieftains."

Fin. "Who purſues you, Oh! maid of the beautiful form?"

The Damsel. "Nobles and princes of the Fians, the great and "warlike Illan purſues me, eldeſt ſon of the king of Spain[c]; and "much do I fear, Oh! Fians of Ireland[d], the wounds and "deſtruction which this fierce warrior will bring upon you. "Wherever he goes, to the eaſt or weſt, or to the four quar-"ters of the world, his ſharp-edged weapon makes every foe "yield the victory."

[b] The palace of Fin-mac-Cumhal in Leinſter, ſeated on the ſummit of the hill of Allen, or rather, as the natives of that country pronounce it, Allowin: The village and bog of Allen have thence derived their name. There are ſtill the remains of ſome trenches on the top of the hill, where Fin-mac-Cumhal and his Fians were wont to celebrate their feaſts. The country hereabouts abounds in wonderful tales of the exploits of theſe antient heroes. Theſe two lines are omitted in the Perth edition.

[c] Inſtead

Bha dun don or 'ma hur bhrag'ad,
Bha ſlabhruidh oir caoin araidh,
Bha leine don 'tſrol a buire,
Leath ri cneas caoin, gradhach, cubhraidh.
Thug ſinne air trom ghaol uile
An teaghlach Fhinn ſin a h Albhuin
Gun aon duine don Fheinn
Ga mhnaoi fein ach don ionbhuin.
Chuir i comraiche air Fiann
An ribhin is i gu boſgheal binn,
Chuir i comraiche eile air Goll,
Le ſud laoch aluin nan ſonn,
'S air Oſgar mac Oiſſain eile,
'S air a Chaol chrodhach mac Ruighair.

AN INGHIN. " Mo chomraich oirbh Fhiannaibh matha,
" Eidir chlannaibh righ is fhlathan."

FION. " Co tha torachd air do lorg
" A ninghean ur is ailde colg."

AN INGHIN. " Tha ſin a torachd orm ſein
" Fhir uaſal is rioghail Feinn,
" Iollan mor mileanta mear
" Mac oidhre riogh na h Eaſpainde;
" 'S eagal leamſa, Fhiannaibh Fhail,
" Egar leadairt is gar doghrainn
" Am fear mor, mileanta, treun,
" Tha airm gu ſiudhrannda rann gheur,
" Cait an dimthigh e niar na noir,
" Na o ceithir armdanaibh an domhain,
" Aon duine nach faiceadh eanchin a chinn."

[c] Inſtead of *Eaſpainde*, " Spain," the Perth edition ſubſtitutes *Iarſmàile*.

[d] Inſtead of *Fhiannaibh Fhail*, " the Fians of Ireland," the Perth edition ſubſtitutes *Fhianna matha*, " the noble Fians."

Fin. " Oh! fair damſel, we will not let him carry you away; " ſit down, and be of good courage, though your words are " terrible. This great man ſhall not carry you away, high as " your opinion is of his valour."

We ſaw the hero entering the harbour, and drawing his veſſel to the ſhore. He approached us with fury; he approached us with rage, like a ſheet of unuſual ſparkling fire. He had on his well-made coat of mail; his helmet was ſtrong and variegated. His vizor, poliſhed and ſet with precious ſtones, covered his fair countenance. His garments were of rich ſattin, tied with ſilken ſtrings. Two ſharp-headed ſpears with barbs appeared over his ſhoulder. His poliſhed and impenetrable ſhield was in his left hand. He ruſhed on with fury, and ſaluted not Fin or the Fians. He ſlew an hundred of the heroes of Fin, and ſlew the damſel. He bound Fellan, the ſon of Fin, and thrice nine of his valiant train. Illan was light and active, though covered over with heavy armour. Oſgar turned toward him on the plain; my ſon ſwelled with heavy wrath, and demanded the combat of this reſiſtleſs and beautiful champion. Illan turned toward my ſon, and fierce and furious was their encounter.

Fion. " Mun leigeadh mide leis thu ionbhuin,
" Dean fa fuidhe air mo ſgathſa,
" A ninghean ga granda do chomhradh ;
" Man tabhair am fear mor thu leis,
" Ga mor leat do dhoigh as fheabhas."
Chunnaic ſinne fada uain,
Fear mor is aig caitheamh a chuain,
A tarruing a luing gu traigh,
'Sa tochd chugainne le hanmein.
Gum be ſud am fear mor malda,
Na ſtuagh theinigh, alluidh, allmarra,
Le fraoch feirge gu Fiannaibh Fhinn,
Se tochd mar chaoir theinne chugain.
Bha luireach ard, irſeach, uaibhreach,
Bha threin ſgabal gu breac buailteach,
Bha cheannbheart chlochara, ſheimhidh,
Os cinn aghaidh ſhocruidhe mhin.
Bha eitidh don tſrol mun fhear
Ceamhſaiche ſide ga cheangal.
A dha ſhleagh om bun bu cruaidh roinn
Is iad nan cuilg ſheaſamh ſuas ri ghualuinn.
Bha ſgiath chruaidh neam-briſteadh, bladh,
Ann an dorn toiſgeil a mhili.
Thug e ruadhar fir gun cheill,
Is cha do bheannuigh ſe d' Fhionn na 'n Fheinn.
Marbh e ceud do Fhiannaibh Fhinn,
Agus mhairbhte leis an ionbhuinn.
Cheangail e Faodhlan mac Fhinn
Agus tri naodhnar ga luchd leanmhuin,
Ga chinneach mor, meanmneach, mear.
'S bha Iollan gu harmach, eatrom.
Thiundaidh Oſgar air an leirg,
Mo mhac, is e lan do throm fheirg,
Sann an ſin a dfhuabair e comhrag
On laoch bhoſgeal, mhio-narach.
Thiundaidh Iollan ri mac fein,
Sgu ndeanta leo comhrag treun.

As torrents in the bottom of the vallies, ſo rapid were the ſtreams of their blood. As ſparks of fire from the furnace, ſo were the ſparks from the ſwords of the contending heroes. Oſgar gave a deadly wound to armed Illan of the white teeth. So violent was the blow, it ſtruck off the head of the king of Spain's ſon. His grave-ſtone is on this hill, O Mac-Alpin[e]. My words are true, O good Mac-Alpin of Almhuin. Noble were the antient heroes, nor are they equalled by thoſe who ſucceeded them. Bleſſings on the ſouls of the two, and bleſſings on the ſouls of the antient heroes.

[e] St. Patrick is here called Mac-Alpin, as he is frequently in theſe antient poems. Mr. Mc. Pherſon has retained this title, though he has ſuppreſſed the name of St. Patrick, in order to give his poems an air of higher antiquity. See *Berrathon*. "Tradition," ſays he, "has not handed down the name of this ſon of Alpin." But this addreſs of Oſſian to St. Patrick is entirely omitted in the Perth edition.

Be ſud am fear mor, creamhach, cean-riabhach,
Beumnach, coſluath, ceimenach,
Ard, leimneach, aïn-meaſach.
Mar a ſhruthadh a bhunn le gleann,
Bha ſgrios am fola co-teann,
Na mar chaoir theinne teachd a teallach,
Toradh nan laoch namhadach.
Thug Oſgar beum fear ghlan, fear,
Do Iollan armach, deud ghlan,
Se mhaoidh e leis, a bheum granda,
Cean mic a righ na h Eaſpainde.
Is air 'n tullich ſo ta leachd,
A mhic Alpin ha ſo fior,
Ha leachd a mhna air 'n taobh eile,
A dheagh Mhic-Alpin a t Almhuin.
Air linne gum bu mhaith iad,
'S nach raibh aon fhear dhiug ach ſiad,
Beannachd air a nanam araon,
Is t'ugabh beannachd oile dhoibhſan.

The INVASION *of* IRELAND *by* ERRAGON[a].

ON a day when Patrick[b] had no pſalms to ſing, and had leiſure for banqueting and diſcourſe, he went to the houſe of Oſſian, the ſon of Fin, whoſe words were ſweet to his ears.

PATRICK. We ſalute you, O chearful old man; and have come to viſit your dwelling, O valiant hero of the ruddy countenance, who never refuſed a requeſt. We wiſh to hear related by you, O grandſon of Cumhal of the ſtrong ſword, the greateſt danger that befel the Fians ſince firſt you began to walk in their footſteps.

OSSIAN. I will freely relate to you, O Patrick of ſweet pſalms, the greateſt danger that ever befel the Fians ſince the firſt origin of the heroes of Fin.

[a] Compare Mc. Pherſon's Battle of Lora with this poem, and the Perth edition of it, page 305.

[b] Mc. Pherſon, as uſual, has here tranſmuted St. Patrick into a Culdee, and pretends that this poem is called, in the original, *Duan a Chuldich*, or the *Culdee's Poem*,

Oran eadar AILTE *agus* MAC-RONAIN *air dhoibh fearg a ghabhail ri* FIONN.

LATH gun rabh Padric no mhur
Gun failm air uigh, ach bhi ag ol,
Ghluais e a thigh Oifein mhic Fhinn,
O fan leis bu bhinn a ghloir.
PATRICK. Umhlachd dhuitfe a fhean-fhir fhuoirce,
Ad iunnfaid air chuairt thainig fuinn,
A laodhich mhilent as deirg dreach,
Cha d' ear u riobh neach mu'd ne.
Fios a bail luinn fhaotin uait
Ogha Chuthaill is cruoigh colg,
N teanntachd as moghadh 'n rabh 'n Fhionn
O na ghin u riobh nan lorg.
OSSIAN. Dhinnfin fin duitfe gun tamh,
Ghiulle-Phadric na 'n falm binn,
'N teanntachd as moghadh 'nrabh 'n Fhionn
O na ghineadh fiantachd Finn.

Poem, becaufe it was addreffed to one of thefe firft Chriftian miffionaries. We here fee that this Culdee, whofe name he was fo fearful of difclofing, was no other than St. Patrick. This prefatory dialogue is omitted in the Perth edition.

Fin, at a feaſt at Almhuin[c], in the age of heroes, forgot ſome of the Fians on the red hill, which excited their anger and reſentment. "Since you did not admit us to the honor of the feaſt," ſaid Maronnan of the ſweet voice, "I and the noble Aldo with-"draw ourſelves for a year from the ſervice of Fin." They ſilently at their departure put their ſhields and ſwords on board their ſhips. The two noble chiefs went to the kingdom of Lochlin, of poliſhed reins. The fair champions were for a year the friends of the king, the ſon of royal Connchar of ſharp weapons, and Aldo who never refuſed a requeſt. The queen of Lochlin of brown ſhields conceived a ſtrong paſſion, which ſhe could not conceal, for long-hair'd Aldo of arms. With him ſhe carried her deceit into execution, and ſtole from the bed of the king.

This was a deed for which blood was ſpill'd. To Almhuin[d] of heroes, reſidence of the Fians, they took their voyage acroſs the ſea.

[c] This line is thus written in the copy of this poem preſerved in the library of the univerſity of Dublin,

An d' Almhuin le lin na laoch.

See alſo the Perth edition, where it is written in the ſame manner. Almhuin, as we already have had occaſion to obſerve, was the reſidence of Fin-mac-Cumhal in Leinſter, where this feaſt was given, which excited the reſentment of Aldo and Maronnan.

[d] This paſſage is thus written in the above-mentioned copy in the library of Dublin College:

Aig ſo an gniom far doirteadh fuil.
Go h' Almhuin Laigion na b' Fian,

That is, "This was the deed for which blood was ſpill'd. To Almhuin in Leinſter, reſi-"dence of the Fians," &c. The corrupt orthography of the word *Almhuin* (ſee the Perth edition, p. 305) and alſo the ſimilitude in ſound between it and *Albin*, perhaps contributed to miſlead Mr. Mc. Pherſon, and induced him to conclude that by Almhuin, or Alb'cin, as it is ſometimes written, was meant Albion, or Scotland, and not Fin's palace

Dearmad fleagha ga 'n d'roinn Fionn,
'Sa 'n Albin ri linn non laodhach,
Air cuid do 'n Fheinn fhuos druim-dearg,
Gus 'n d'eirich fearg is fraoch.
Mu dhibhir fibh finne mu 'n ol,
Se dubhairt Macronain nan gloir binn,
Bheirramfa agus Ailde ùr
Breiteach bliadhna ri mur Finn.
Thog iad gu fibulte 'n triall
'N cloidheamh agus 'nfgiath air luing,
G'luais 'n dithift iarloch ur
Gu riochd Lochlunn na 'n friann fleom.
Muintearas bliadhna don riogh
Thug 'n dithift bu ghille cneas;
Mac riogh Connchar no 'n arm geur,
Agus Ailte nach d' ear neach.
Ghabh bannriogh Lochlunn no 'n fgiath donn
Trom-ghaol trom nach d' fheud i chleath
Air Ailte greanach no 'n arm
Gus n' d' eirich a chealg leis.
D' eirich i o leaba 'n riogh
Sud 'n gniomh mu'n dhoirte fuil.
Gu h Albin laodhach no 'n Fiann,
Thogadar 'n triall thair muir.

palace in Leinfter. This feems to be a common miftake amongft the Highland fongfters. But in the poems before us the error of Mr. Mc. Pherfon is lefs excufeable, as the king of Lochlin is reprefented fteering his fleet boldly to the coafts of Ireland, and challenging the heroes of Innisfail. The infidelity, therefore, of the queen of Lochlin could not be faid to have been the caufe of fpilling *Scottifh* blood, fince the fcene of the whole tranfaction is laid in Ireland, and they are the heroes of Innisfail who fell in battle. The two lines above quoted are altered as follows in the Perth edition:

Sud an gniomh mu'n doirtear fuil,
'S a dh' ionnfuidh Flaitheas na'm Fionn, &c.

That is, "This was the deed which occafioned the effufion of blood, and endangered "the government of the Fians."

The king of Lochlin at that time was a man that obtained the victory in every conteſt—Erragon, the ſon of Annir of ſhips, a king well ſkilled in deeds of arms. The king collected his army, and a firm fleet, well furniſhed with ſtores. Nine princes joined their forces, a martial band of the men of Lochlin. They took an oath on their voyage that they would not return, and leave Fin behind them: But every ſword is good 'till tried in combat.

'THEY ſteered their fleet boldly to the coaſt of Ireland, and cloſely encamped their forces near to where Fin was ſurrounded with his warriors. A meſſage came to Fin, a dreadful tale, that was the cauſe of ſorrow to many—A challenge[e] to the chiefs of Innisfail upon the northern ſhore. We ſent them the king's daughter of the blue eyes and white teeth,

[e] This ſtanza is thus otherwiſe written in the edition of Perth, p. 306:

Thogadar an Albaiſt ard,
Seach criocha Eirion nan colg teann,
'S ann Albain leathann na 'm Fiann,
Thugadar an Triath air traidh.

That is, "They raiſed up the lofty ſtandard towards the coaſts of Ireland of the "ſtrong ſwords, and brought the Prince (Erragon) on ſhore towards ſpacious Alm-

"huin

Bu riogh air Lochlunn ſa 'n uair
Fear a bhuidhne buoigh gach blair,
Airgin mac Ainnir no 'n long,
A riogh bu mhaith lamh ſa lann.
Chruinnich riogh Lochlunn a ſhluagh,
Caubhlauch cruoigh a bhi gu deaſs,
Gur he d'heirich, fa 'n aon uair,
Naogh righrigh ſan ſluogh leis.
Lochlannich a bhuidhean bhorb
('S ro mhaith 'n colg gu dol 'n feum)
Thug iad a mionnan an 'nan triall
Nach pilleadh iad is Fionn no n ndeigh.
Stiuradar n caubhlach gu h'ard
Gu crich Eirin no n arm nochd,
Is leg iad am puibleach gu tiugh,
Gairid o 'n reutha 'n rabh Fionn.
Teachdaireachd thainig gu Fionn,
Sgeul tium a chuir ruinn go truogh,
Comhruag no 'n laodhach Innſeadhphail
Fhaotin air 'ntraigh fa thuath.
Thug ſinne dhoibh inghin riogh,
'S guirme ſiul ſa s' gille deud,

" huin of the Fians." Almhuin is generally in the Iriſh romances called *Almhuin leathan mor Laigion*, that is, " The great and ſpacious Almhuin in Leinſter."

[r] This line is thus written in the edition of Perth, p. 307, the word Innisfail being omitted:

Comhrag dluth d' Fhiannaibh Fhin.

That is, " A challenge of the cloſe combat to the Fians of Fin."

and ſent with her an hundred horſes, the beſt that ever were guided by a rein, mounted by an hundred horſemen clothed in ſattin, ſhining like the ſun. When ſhe went down to the ſhore, ſhe left the horſes behind, and ſtepped forward to meet the men of Lochlin[g]. Two golden apples were in her right hand, and ornaments on the ſhoulder of her gown, and the form of a tree inwoven.

Erragon. "What tidings from the people of Fin, O maid "of the curled locks?"

Maid. "If thy wife has broken her marriage vow, and been "guilty of any diſgraceful action, you are offered the friendſhip "of Fin. Thou ſhalt get me as an hoſtage for the performance; "and if thou accept the offer, then ſhalt thou obtain that friend-"ſhip, and an hundred horſes, the beſt that ever were guided "by a rein, mounted by an hundred horſemen clothed in ſattin, "ſhining like the ſun. Thou ſhalt obtain theſe, and an hundred "girdles[h]; ſickneſs cannot affect thoſe whom they bind, they "ſtop pain and torture—a grateful preſent to pregnant women.

[g] Mr. Mc. Pherſon tranſmutes "*the two golden apples*" into *an arrow of gold*, and *a ſparkling ſhell*; and then adds, in conformity to his ſyſtem, without any authority from the original, that theſe were *the ſigns of Morven's peace.*

[h] Mr.

Chuir ſinn, 'ga coimhdeachd, ceud each
As fearr ris n' deachadh ſrian,
Is ceud marcach air a muin,
Le 'n earradh ſroil o 'n laiſte grian.
Nuair theirrin 'n ſin air 'ntſraid,
Sa dfhag i no deigh na heich.
Thug i ceum 'n ſin no 'n coir.
Is da ubhall oir air a laimh dheis,
Coinnlairean air ghuoilneabh a guin,
Is dealbh a chruinn o chill no 'm port.

ERRAGON. " Gu de do nuaidheachd o phobull Fhinn,
" Innis duin a chiagh no n cleuchd."

CIODH. " Mu roinn do bhean ort beirt chlith,
" S gu d' immir i n' gniomh gu cear,
" Cairdeas is commun ri Fionn,
" Is gu 'n faighe tu mi na geall.
" Gheibheadh tu ſud is ceud each
" As fearr ris 'n deachidh frian;
" Is ceud marcach air a muin
" Le 'n earradh ſroil o 'n laiſte grian.
" Gheibheadh tu ſud is ceud crios,
" Cha theid ſlios mu 'n 'd theid eug;
" Chaiſge iad leotrom is ſgios,
" Deud riobhach no 'm buſchala bean.

[h] Mr. Mc. Pherſon, in his note on this paſſage, tells us, that ſanctified girdles, 'till very lately, were kept in many families in the north of Scotland, which were bound about women in labour, and were ſu ppoſed to alleviate their pains, and to accelerate the birth.

" You ſhall obtain theſe, and an hundred diſhes which were laid " before the kings[1] of the world; he whoſe food is ſerved upon " them ſhall enjoy perpetual youth. You ſhall obtain theſe, and " an hundred ſhips that cleave the waves in the ſwelling tide, " with an hardy crew victorious in every battle. You ſhall obtain " theſe, and an hundred princes that acquire tribute in the ſe- " vere conflict. You ſhall obtain theſe, and an hundred fleet " hawks, victorious in the air. You ſhall obtain theſe, and an " hundred breeding mares, and as many white cattle as will fill " a valley. After obtaining theſe preſents, take your wife, and " make peace with us."

Erragon. " I will not make peace with Aldo nor the nobles " of the Fians, until I make Fin my captive, and drive away his " cattle to the ſhore."

Maid. " I tell you, O Erragon, according to my judgment in " this matter, that whatever may be your ſtrength, you will never " make Fin your captive, nor drive away his cattle to the ſhore. " But ſince my offers have been unwiſely ſcorned, I return, and ſo " farewell."

Erragon. " O do not return, maid of the curled hair, gentle " princeſs of the ſweet voice; precious jewels ſhalt thou receive, " and I will bind myſelf to thy ſide for ever."

Maid. " I will return, O leader of theſe bands, ſince I cannot " aſſuage the fury of your revenge—ſince I cannot obtain the " pardon of the raſh pair."

[1] Mr. Mc. Pherſon, in his note on this line, tells us, that by *the kings of the world* are meant *the Roman emperors.*

" Gheibheadh tu fud is ceud mios,
" O churfadh riogh n domhain aigh;
" Is ge be gheibheadh iad ri bheo
" Dhianadh iad duin' og a ghnath.
" Gheibheadh tu fud is ceud long,
" Sgoilte tonn air bhuinne borb;
" Air 'n luchdacha gu teann
" Do gach aon ni sfearr buoigh.
" Gheibheadh tu fud is ceud mac riogh,
" Bhuidhne cios air chluicheadh bhuirb;
" Gheabheadh tu ceud seodhag shuairce
" Air mbigha buoidh 'n iar.
" Gheibheadh tu sin is ceud graoigh,
" Is laon glinne do chroth baon.
" Iar faoghin sin beannachd leat,
" Tog do bheann is dean ruinn sith."

ERRAGON. " Cha d' thugaimse sith do dh' Ailte,
" No mhaitheabh air Feinne gu leir,
" Gun Fionn fein a chuir fuidh 'm bhreath,
" Is a chreich a thabhairt gu traigh."

CIODH. " Cha d thug husa leat do neart,
" Dhinnsin duit a bhrioth mo bheachd,
" Na chuirre Fionn fein fuidh ad bhreath
" No na bheir a chreich gu traigh.
" Ach falbhaidh mise is beannachd leat
" O chuaithe t'fhaineachadh bundream."

ERRAGON. " Cha n fhalbh thusa chiagh no 'n cleuchd,
" A Riobhin fharasta bheoil bhinn,
" Gheibheadh tu no seuda saor,
" Is cheamhluin mi fein ri d' thaobh deass."

CIODH. " Fhalbhaidh mise, cheann no 'n cliar,
" O nach traogh mi t'fhioch no t'fhearg,
" O nach faighinn saor gu mbhreith
" Ceann no deise bu gann ciall.

The king's daughter returned back, and rode to the palace of her father. Many were the ſilken ſtandards that were lifted up, and ſoon were the Fians arrayed in order of battle.

Seven ſcore of our chief warriors, and Aldo himſelf among the foremoſt, fell by the hand of the great Erragon, againſt whom the troops had armed.

[k] When Fin, who had long kept ſilence, ſaw the ſlaughter of his army, he was enraged. Much did he encourage the Fians. "Who will engage Erragon in battle, or ſhall we "let him thus triumph over us unrevenged?" Then replied Gaul, the hardeſt warrior to ſubdue, "Let me oppoſe Erragon "in the combat, and try the proweſs of the hero."

Fin. "Take, O Gaul, Macanluth, and brown-haired Der-"mod, fair Ciaran, and Macanlo, to protect you from the wounds "of the warrior—take two as a ſhield on either ſide."

Eight days, without ceſſation, the ſlaughter of our armies continued. Gaul, upon the ninth day, gained the head of the king of Lochlin of the brown ſhield. Not one eſcaped the edge of the ſword, or returned exulting from the combat. Not one of the forces of the king of Lochlin returned home to his own land.

[k] This ſtanza is thus written in the edition of Perth, p, 308:

'Se labhair Fionn flath na 'm buadh,
'Se 'g ambarc air ſluagh Innſe-fail,
Co dheangas Earragon ſa ghreis,
Mu 'n leigeamaid leis ar tair?

That

Theandain i 'n ſin riutha a cul,
Marcich e a chuirt gu dian:
Bu hinar frol ga 'n togail ſuas,
A nordabh gu luath chuaithe 'n Fhiann.
Seachd ficheud gar maitheabh gu leir,
Is Ailte fein air 'n tus,
Thuit ſud le laimh Airgin mhoir
Mu 'n deacha no ſloigh 'n dlus.
D' fhuirich Fion fada na thoſd,
Luidh ſprog mor air 'n Fheinn.
FION. " Co dheangas Airgin ſa ghreis,
" No 'n leigemid leis air tair."
'Sann bha fhreagradh ſud aig Goll,
'N ſonn bha dochdoir ra chlaoidh.
" Leigeior mi is Airgin ſa ghreis,
" Gus 'n feachamid cleas-laoidh."
FION. " Maccan Luthichi, Diarmad donn,
" Ciaran caom, is Mac-an-Leigh,
" Gad dhianadh o bhuilleabh 'n laodhich,
" Tog dithiſt air gach taobh mar ſgeith."
Ochd laithean duine gun tamh,
Sior dheanabh ar air no ſloigh;
Cean in riogh Lochlunn no 'n ſgiath donn
Se buidhin Goll air a naothaobh lath.
Mar duine chuaith as o bheal airm,
No chuaithe le maoim don ghreis;
Do riogh Lochlunn no da ſluogh
Cha deach duine ga thir fein.

That is, " And thus ſpoke Fin, the prince of victory, when he ſaw the ſlaughter " of the army of Innisfail, Who will engage Erragon in the fight, or ſhall we " ſuffer him to bear away with him our diſgrace?" The hoſt of Fin is here ſaid expreſsly to be the hoſt of Innisfail.

Four ſcore and five thouſand men of renown fell by the hand of Gara and of Gaul, and two by the hand of Oſcar of valiant deeds, and Carioll of the fair ſkin. But by the name you gave me, Patrick of ſweet pſalms, there fell by Fin and me as many as by the other four. There was ſlain in this battle near half the Fians upon the ſouth-weſt ſhore; but at the going down of the ſun there was not more than a third of them that remained.

Ceithir fichead is coig mile ſonn
Thuit le Garadh is le Goll;
A dha urradh le Oſcar an aigh
Is le Cairioll cneas bhan;
Air a nainm a thugas orm,
G' ille Phadric no 'n ſalm binn,
Gun tuit leom fein is le Fionn,
A choimhlion ceann ris a cheathrann.
Thuit ſinne cor is leth air Fhiann,
Air 'n traigh tha ſiar o dheas,
Ach no 'n luigeagh a ghrian
Cha mho no air trian a chuaith as.

The PRAYER *of* OSSIAN[a].

1. OSSIAN. RELATE the tale, O Patrick; I beſeech you, by the books that you read, tell me truly is Heaven in the poſſeſſion of the noble Fians of Ireland[b]?

2. PATRICK. I aſſure you, O Oſſian of great deeds, that Heaven is not in the poſſeſſion of your father, nor of Oſcar, nor of Gaul.

3. OSSIAN. This is a pitiful tale, O Patrick, that thou telleſt me of my anceſtors; why ſhould I be religious if Heaven be not in poſſeſſion of the Fians of Ireland[c]?

[a] The copy of the *Urnigh Oſſian* which fell into my hands differs from that publiſhed by Mr. Hill in the order of the ſtanzas (as I have ſignified by the prefixed numbers, which denote the order in Mr. Hill's copy) and ſome other circumſtances, on which I ſhall make occaſional obſervations in the notes. A very correct copy of this poem is preſerved in the library of the univerſity of Dublin, entitled "*Agallamh Oiſin* "*agus Phadruig;*" that is, "The Converſation of Oſſian and St. Patrick."

[b] The Highland Sgeulaiches have been very buſy in corrupting this poem, partly of *neceſſity*, from their want of a written ſtandard. Hence alſo the order and connection

URNIGH OSSIAN.

1. OSSIAN. INNIS ſgeul a Phadruic,
An n' onair do leibh,
Bheil neamh gu aridh
Aig maithibh Fianibh Eirin?
2. PATRICK. Bheirimſa dhuit briartha,
Oſſain na 'n glonn,
Nach bheil neimh ag t'aithar,
Aig Oſcar na ag Gobhul.
3. OSSIAN. 'S olc an ſgeul, a Phadruic,
A thagad dhamh ri leibhibh,
Com an bithimſe re crabha,
Mar bheil neimh aig Fionnibh Eirin.

nection of the poem, both in this copy and Mr. Hill's, have been much injured, as may be ſeen by comparing the Erſe with the Iriſh. And from their vain deſire of attributing Fin-ma-Cual and his heroes to Scotland, they ſeem to have *intentionally* corrupted it in ſome paſſages, as may be ſeen by comparing the Erſe copies with each other. Thus, in the verſe before us, the word *Ireland* is omitted in Mr. Hill's copy.

[c] In this verſe alſo the mention of *Ireland* is omitted in Mr. Hill's copy.

8. PATRICK. O Oſſian[d]! long ſleep has taken hold of thee, riſe to hear the pſalms. Thy ſtrength and thy valour are gone, nor art thou longer able to ſtand the fury of the day of battle.

9. OSSIAN. If I have loſt my ſtrength and my valour, and none of Fingal's heroes ſurvive, I will pay little reſpect to thy clerkſhip, nor care I to liſten to thy ſinging.

10. PATRICK. Such ſweet ſongs as mine thou never heardſt 'till this night ſince the beginning of the world; thou aged and unwiſe old man, who often haſt arranged thy valiant troops upon the mountain.

11. OSSIAN. Often have I arranged the valiant troops upon the mountain, O Patrick of evil deſigns; but it is wrong in you to diſpraiſe my appearance, which once was not deſpiſed.

15. Fin had twelve hounds[e]; we let them looſe in the vallies of Smail; and ſweeter to my ears was the cry of the hounds, than the ringing of thy bells, O clerk.

17. PATRICK. Since it was the height of thy happineſs to liſten to the hounds, and to marſhal thy troops every day, and not to offer up thy prayers to God, Fin and his heroes are for this bound in captivity.

18. OSSIAN. It is hard to believe thy tale, O clerk of the white book, that Fin, or one ſo generous, ſhould be in captivity with God or man.

[d] Here the order and connection is diſturbed. This is the firſt ſtanza in the Iriſh copies.

[e] This

8. PATRICK. Oſſain gur fadda do ſhuain,
Erich ſuas as eiſd na ſailm ;
Chail u niſe do lu as do rath,
As cha chuir u cath ri la garbh.

9. OSSIAN. Mu chail miſe mo lu 'ſino rath,
'S nach marthain aon cath bh' aig Fion,
Dod chlerſenachd 's beag mo ſpeis,
'S do cheol eiſdeachd cha neach liom.

10. PATRICK. Cha chualadh u co-maith mo cheol
O thus an domhuin mhoir gus anochd,
Tha u aoſda anna-glic liath,
Fir a dhioladh cleor ar chnochd.

11. OSSIAN. 'S trigh a dhiol mi cliar air chnochd,
Gh' ille Phadruic ab' olc run,
Be-coir dhuit achain mo chruth,
O nach dfhuair me guth air thus.

15. Bha da gaothair dheug aig Fionn,
'S leighadhmid ad re gleann Smail,
'Sbu bhinneadh luinn proſnadh air con
Na do chluigſe chlerich chai.

17. PATRICK. Se mead ar meothair ri proſnadh chonn,
'S ri dhiobhail ſgoll goch aon la,
'S nach lugadh ſibh oraindo Dhia,
Tha Fionn na Fiann anniſe an laimh.

18. OSSIAN. 'S olc a chreidas mi do ſgeul,
A chleirich, le 'd leobhar bann,
Gu bithad Fionn, na co-fial,
Aig duine na aig Dia an laimh.

* This verſe is abruptly introduced, and is not connected with the preceding part of the poem. We muſt look to the Iriſh copies for the remedy of the corruption.

19. PATRICK. He is now in captivity in Hell, who uſed to diſtribute gold; ſince he did not give honour to God, he is in ſorrow in the houſe of torture.

20. OSSIAN. If the clan of Boiſgnè were alive, and the deſcendants of Mornè of valiant deeds, we would force Fin out of Hell, or the houſe would be our own.

21. PATRICK. Although the five[f] provinces of Ireland, which you ſo highly eſteem, were to aſſiſt you, you would not force Fin out of Hell, nor would the houſe ever be your own.

21. OSSIAN. What kind of a place is this Hell, O Patrick of deep learning? Is it not as good as Heaven; and ſhall we not there find deer and hounds?

6. PATRICK. Little as is the humming[g] fly, or the mote in the ſun; it cannot get under the cover of his ſhield without the knowledge of the king of glory.

7. OSSIAN. Then he is not like Fin-ma-Cual, our king of the Fians; every man upon the face of the earth might enter his court without aſking permiſſion.

30. PATRICK. Compare not any man to God, O grey-haired old man, who knoweſt not what he is. Long is it ſince his government began, and his right will live for ever.

[f] The Highland Sgeulaiches have taken the liberty of totally perverting this ſtanza, and changing it into another, which might make Fin-ma-Cual their own countryman. See Mr. Hill's copy.

[g] This

19. PATRICK. Tha e n' ithuirne an laimh,
Fear le mo gnath bhi pronnadh oir,
O nach tugadh e onair do Dia
Chuir e an tigh pian fuidh 'bhron.

20. OSSIAN. Na bithad clanna Baoſga aſteach,
'S clanna Moran na feachd treun,
Bherrmuid Fionn amach ar,
No bhith an teach aguin fein.

21. PATRICK. Cuig do chuigibh na h Eirin maiſeach,
Air leatſa gu ba mhoir ann luchd,
Cha dugadh ſibh Fionn amach,
'S cha bhith an teach aguibh fein.

22. OSSIAN. Gu de an tait ithuirne fein,
A Phadruic leibhas an ſgoll,
Nach comaith e ri flaitheas De?
Na faithmid ann feidh agus conn?

6. PATRICK. Ga beag a chuil chronanach,
As monaran na greine,
Gun fhios don righ mhoralach,
Cha theid ſinn fuidh bhla a ſgeith'.

7. OSSIAN. Cha bennin e 'ſ Fionnmacuil,
An righ bha igin air na Fianibh,
Ghaothaon neach ar talamh
Dol na thalla ſin gu iarridh.

30. PATRICK. Na comhaid 'uſa duine ri Dia,
A ſhean fhior liath, na breinneach e,
'S fada bhun a thainig a reachd,
'S marfhidh e cheart gu brath.

ε This paſſage ſeems to have been corrupted. In the Iriſh copies Oſſian ſays that he would force his way into Heaven; St. Patrick, in reply, ſhews him his miſtake, for that the ſmalleſt atom could not get there without God's knowledge and permiſſion.

31. Ossian. I would compare Fin-ma-Cual to God himſelf. . . . . .

. . . . . .

33. Patrick. This it is that has occaſioned thy ruin; thy not having believed in the God of the elements. For this, not one of thy race has ſurvived except thyſelf, the noble Oſſian.

34. Ossian. This was not the cauſe of our misfortunes, but the two voyages of Fin to Rome; we were obliged, by ourſelves, to engage in the battle of Gabhra, and great was the ſlaughter of the Fians.

23. One day, as we were on the mountain Fuad, Caolt of the ſteel ſword was there, and Oſgar, and the hoſpitable Fin. Loud was the cry of the hounds in the plain, and furious were they in the vallies.

24. Fin-ma-Cual of great ſtrength was king over us at that time; and, O clerk of the crooked ſtaff, we would not ſuffer God to rule over us.

4. Patrick. [h] How wicked is that, O Oſſian, thou man of blaſphemous words! God is for ever greater than all the heroes of Ireland.

5. Ossian. I would prefer one great battle fought by Fin and his heroes to the Lord of thy worſhip, and to thyſelf, O clerk.

35. Patrick. Liſten to the advice of the humble, and ſeek Heaven for thyſelf to-night; thou art now ſinking under years, therefore at length lay aſide thy folly, O grey haired old man.

[h] The Scottiſh Sgeulaich has in this inſtance tranſmuted *Ireland* into *Scotland*, in conformity to his corruptions in other paſſages. See Mr. Hill's copy.

31. Ossian. Chomaidinſe Fionmacuil
Ri aon Du . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

33. Patrick. Se ſinn a chuiras duibh riamh,
Nach do chreid ſuibh Dia non dul;
Cha mharin duine ar air ſlíochd,
'S cha bheo ach rioghachd Oſſain air.

34. Ossian. Cha be ſin bu ceoireach rinn,
Ach turas Fhionn a dha an Roimh,
Bho cumail cath arridh lein fein,
Bha cluidh ar Feinne gu ro mhor.

23. La dhuinne air ſliabh bhoid,
Bha Caoilte ann bu cruaidh lann,
Bha Oſgar ann as Fionn na ſleadh,
Domhnal bhon mheadh fraoch bhonn gleann.

24. Fionmacuil bu mor prios,
Bha e na righ orn ſan am,
'S chlerich na bachall fiar,
Cha leigmid Dia os air ceann.

4. Patrick. 'S borb leann ſin uait, Oſſain,
Fhior na briathra boille,
Gum b' fear Dia air uair
Na Fianuibh Eirin uile.

5. Ossian. B fhear liomſa aon cath laidir
A churri Fiann na Feinne,
Na tighearna a chrabhidh
Agus 'uſa a chlerich.

35. Patrick. Eiſdh uſa raidh na bochd,
As iar neimh anochd dhuit fein,
Tha u niſe air dol an aois,
Tog ad bhaos a ſhean fhir liath.

36. Ossian. I aſk the protection of the twelve apoſtles for myſelf to-night; and if I have committed any heavy ſins, let them be thrown into my grave upon the hill[1].

[1] It is of this poem that Mr. Mc. Pherſon, having ingeniouſly metamorphoſed St. Patrick Mac Alpin into Mac Alpin a Culdee, ſeems to ſpeak in the following manner, in his diſſertation on Oſſian's poems: "It was with one of the Culdees," ſays he, "that Oſſian, in his extreme old age, is ſaid to have diſputed concerning "the Chriſtian religion. This diſpute is ſtill extant, and is couched in verſe, ac- "cording to the cuſtom of the times. The extreme ignorance on the part of Oſſian "of the Chriſtian tenets ſhews that that religion had only been lately introduced, as "it

36. Ossian. Comrich an da abſtoil deug
Iarruidh mi dhamh fein anochd
'S ma rinn mi peacadh trom,
Bighadh e n' luigh ſan tom 'n cnochd.

" it is not eaſy to conceive how one of the firſt rank could be totally unacquainted " with a religion that had been known for any time in the country." Mr. Ewing Cameron, in his elegant verſion of Mc. Pherſon, obſerves that the obſolete phraſes and expreſſions peculiar to the age prove this poem to be no forgery. And if ſo, a conſiderable part at leaſt of Mc. Pherſon's Oſſian muſt have a contrary judgment paſſed on it.

The DEATH *of* OSCAR[a].

OSSIAN. I WILL[b] not refuſe the ſong, though it be ſorrowful to-night to Oſſian.

OSCAR and the valiant Cairbre both fell in the battle of Gabhra[c]. The poiſoned ſpear is in the hand of Cairbre, which he ſhakes in the hour of his wrath. The raven ſays with anguiſh that the hour of Oſcar's death is come. "I," cries he to himſelf, "am the black ill-boding raven. Thoſe five men at "the table are joyful, without the fear of battle. Early in the "morning will the raven prey upon thy cheek in the field of "battle.

OSCAR. "Let not the Fians hear you to-night, leſt we ſhould all be diſpirited."

[a] The death of Oſcar, in the firſt book of Temora, is grounded on this poem; and many paſſages of it are indeed literally tranſlated: But great liberties, as uſual, have been taken with the original. See the edition of Perth, page 313.

[b] We are to ſuppoſe that Oſſian had been ſolicited to give an account of the death of his ſon, and that the poem opens with his reluctant conſent. This appears evident from the copy of the *Cath Gabhra*, preſerved in the library of Dublin college, which begins in this manner:

Mor

MARBH-RANN OSCAIR.

CHA 'n abir mi athriath ri m' cheol,
Ga holc le Oiſſein e a nochd:
Oſcar agus Cairbre calma,
Thraoghte iad uille 'n cath Ghabhruidh.
'N tſleagh nimhe is i 'n laimh Chairbre,
Gu 'n craite i ri uair feirge.
Theirre 'n fiach ri ghoimh
Gur h ann leatha mhairbhte Oſcar.
'S mioſa, theirre e ris fein,
'N fiach duth na mi-cheil;
A chuigear a ta fibh mu 'n chlar
Ach fuil fir a bhi ga thacadh.
Gairridh 'n fiach moch a maireach
Air do ghruoighſe ann ſan ar-fhaich.
OSCAR. " Na cluinneadh 'n Fhein u nochd
" Mu 'm bi ſuinn uille gu mearſneach."

Mor anocht mo chumhadh fein,
A Padraic, gidh taim dod reir,
A ſmuaineadh an chatha chruaidh
Tugſam is Cairbre caomh-chruaidh.

That is, " Great, to-night, is my ſorrow, Oh! Patrick, though I yield to your " requeſt, when I think on the ſevere battle which we and the valiant Cairbre " fought."

[c] Gabhra, in Meath, about half a mile from the hill of Tara. This battle was fought A. C. 296. See annals of Innisfallen.

CAIRBRE. " Exchange[d] the head of the ſpear, but keep the " ſtem."

OSCAR. " It is unjuſt to make this demand. But you aſk " it becauſe the Fians and my father are not here."

CAIRBRE. " Although the Fians and your father were here, " as they were the beſt day of their lives, I would inſiſt by my " authority on obtaining whatever I ſhould demand."

OSCAR. " If the Fians and my father were here in half their " prime, we would by force prevent you from poſſeſſing the " breadth of one foot of Ireland."

THEN red-haired Cairbre uttered furious words, that he would hunt and drive cattle from Almhuin[e] the following day. The valiant, the noble Oſcar replied, in words equally furious, that he would hunt and drive cattle to Almhuin the following day. All that night 'till day, while the chiefs of the Fians banqueted, angry words on either ſide paſſed between Cairbre and Oſcar. We and our valiant hoſt aroſe the next day, and carried off the cattle of Ireland, twelve from every province.

[d] Mr. Mc. Pherſon ſays it was uſual at their feaſts for the hoſt and his gueſt to exchange ſpears. He here makes Cairbre call Oſcar " ſon of woody Morven," without any authority from the original, in order to ſupport his indefenſible fiction, that Oſſian was of that country. This, however, is but *the ſlight addition of an epithet*, as Doctor Blair terms it, in his elegant diſſertation on the authenticity of theſe poems.

[e] In the original it is ſpell'd *Albin*, and ſometimes in Erſe poetry it is written *Albhein* and *Almhun*. In the edition of Perth, page 316, it is written *Albain*, and in page 305, *Albhainn* and *Almhain*. *Almhuin*, now the hill of Allen, was the palace of Fin and Oſſian in Leinſter, as we have already obſerved, and is not many miles diſtance from Tara; ſo that Cairbre could eaſily put his threat in execution, of making an incurſion, the next day, into the territories of Fin. It was the corrupt orthography

CAIRBRE. " Iumlaid cin gun uimlaid croinn."
OSCAR. " B' ea-corach ſud iarruidh oirn :
" Se fath mu n' iarradh tu ſin,
" Miſe bhi gun Fhiann gun athair."
CAIRBRE. " Gad bhigh an Fhiann agus t' athair,
" 'N lath is fear a bha iad nam beatha,
" Cha bfuillear leomſa, ri m' linn,
" Gach feoid ad iarruin gu 'n faighe."
OSCAR. " Nam bigh 'n Fhiann agus m' athair
" Mar a bha iad no 'n leath bheatha,
" 'Steann as nach faigheadh tu ſin,
" Aon lead do throighe do m' Eirinn."
Briarthadh buon ſin, briarthadh buon,
Sè bheirre 'n Cairbre ruogh,
Gun tugadh e fealg agus creach
A Albin 'n lath na mhaireach.
Briartha oille 'n aghaidh ſin,
Bheirre 'n t Oſcar gle calma,
Gun tugadh e fealg agus creach
Do dh Albin 'n lath na mhaireach.
N oidche ſin duinne gu lo
Maithean air Feinne ag ol,
Briartha garga leath ar leath
Eadar Cairbre is an t Oſcar.
Dh'eirich ſuinn 'n lath na mhaireach,
Ar ſluagh uill ann ſin na bha dh' inn
Thogadh linn a h Eirin creach,
A dha dheug as gach cogabh.

orthography of the word, as one might ſuppoſe, which miſled Mr. Mc. Pherſon, when he ſaid, that " the author of theſe poems repreſents Oſcar to have been of " Scotland." And in order ſtill farther to countenance this opinion, if indeed he really adopted it, he forged the following line :

Albin na 'n ioma ſluagh.

That is, " Almhain of many waves ;" which never yet was ſeen in any copy of this poem found either in Scotland or Ireland. Compare this copy with thoſe printed in Perth, page 167 and page 313 ; and alſo with that given in Mr. Gillies's ſpecimen, printed at Perth 1786.

Oscar. " O woman[f], that waſheſt thoſe garments, foretell " us truly what is to happen; ſhall any of our foes fall by us, " or ſhall we all fall unrevenged?

Maid. " You ſhall ſlay five hundred, and wound the king " himſelf, together with him who is next to him in dignity: but " all your lives[g] have come."

Oscar. " Let not Roſg-Mac-Ruo hear you, nor any of our " enemy; let not the Fians hear you to-night, leſt we ſhould be " all diſpirited."

When we came to a narrow paſs in a narrow vale, there was the valiant Cairbre with his hoſt coming to oppoſe us. Five ſcore brave Scots[h], that came over the rocky rough ſea, fell on the oppoſite ſide by Oſcar, as he ruſhed on toward the king of Ireland. Five ſcore heroes with blue ſwords, who never before moved one ſtep backward, fell on the oppoſite ſide by Oſcar, as he ruſhed on toward the king of Ireland. Five ſcore heroes armed with bows, who came to the aſſiſtance of Cairbre, fell on the oppoſite ſide by Oſcar, as he ruſhed on toward the king of Ireland.

[f] Oſcar is here ſuppoſed, whilſt marching off with his booty, to meet a young woman early in the morning, whom he conceives endued with the gift of propheſy. It is an opinion ſtill prevailing in Ireland, that the firſt woman you meet with in the morning is a witch.

[g] *Al*

Oscar. " A bhaobh a nigheas 'n teadachi,
" Dian dhuin 'n fhaisneachd cheudna;
" 'N tuit aon duinne aca leinn?
" No 'n d theit finn uille do neomh-ni?"
Baobh. " Mairbhear leatfa a cuig ceud,
" Is gunthar leat 'n riogh fein,
" Maraon fann fear lagha dheth,
" Is air faoghal uille gun a thainic."
Oscar. " Na cluinne e u Rofg Mac Ruoigh,
" Na aon duinne uaith ga fhluogh,
" Na cluinne 'n Fhein u nochd,
" Ma 'm bi fin uille gu mearfneach."
Nuair thanic finne ann,
Bealach cuthinn no 'n caol ghleann,
Sann a bhigh 'n Cairbre glan,
Le lonmaireachd a teachd n'ar co-thail.
Cuig fichead Albanach ard
Thanic thair muir choiriaganda ghairbh,
Thuit fud le laimh Ofcair thall,
Is e mofgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.
Cuig fichead fear cloidheamh glais,
Nach deach aon cheum riomh air ais,
Thuit fud le laimh Ofcair thall,
Is e mofgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.
Cuig fichead fear bogha,
Thanic air Cairbre ga cabhair,
Thuit fud le laimh Ofcair thall,
Is e mofgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.

[g] *All your lives have come.* The Fians never recovered their defeat at Gabhra.

[h] This paffage fhews that Ofcar could not have been of Scotland; and confirms our former obfervation, that *Albin* is a corruption of *Albhein*, *Alnhain*, or *Alnhuin*; for it is abfurd to fuppofe that Ofcar would have thus flaughtered his own countrymen.

Five ſcore men well acquainted with danger, who came againſt us from the ſnowy country, fell on the oppoſite ſide by the hand of Oſcar, as he ruſhed on toward the king of Ireland. Five ſcore of the chiefs of the army of red-haired Cairbre fell by the hand of Oſcar, as he ruſhed on againſt the king of Ireland. When dark-red Cairbre ſaw the ſlaughter of his armies by Oſcar, he hurled the poiſoned ſpear that was in his hand againſt him. Oſcar fell upon his right knee—the poiſoned ſpear paſſed through his body, but he pierced Cairbre with a nine-barbed ſpear where the hair and forehead unite.

Cairbre. "Riſe, Art, and take thy ſword, and ſtand up in "the place of thy father; if thou ſurviveſt the battle, may you "reign a fortunate king over Ireland."

Oscar hurled another ſpear on high (as we thought it was high enough); ſo great was the force with which it was caſt, that it ſtruck Art[1] to the ground as he was aiming his ſpear at Oſcar. They placed the king's crown upon the ſtump of a tree, to ſhew that the victory was theirs.

[1] According to the propheſy of the witch, that he ſhould wound the perſon next to the king in dignity.

Cuig fichead fear feachd,
Thanic oirn a tir 'n t' ſhneachdi,
Thuit ſud le laimh Oſcair thall,
Is e moſgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.
Cuig fichead Cairbirre ruogh,
Thanic do mhaitheabh 'n 't ſluoigh
Thuit ſud le laimh Oſcair thall,
Is e moſgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.
A chuig fhear a b' aiſge do 'n riogh,
Air linne gu mo mhor 'm pris,
Thuit ſud le laimh Oſcair thall,
Is e moſgladh gu riogh no h Eirinn.
Nuair chunnig 'n Cairbre ruogh,
'N t' Oſgar a ſgathagh a ſhluoigh,
'N tſleagh nimhe bha no laimh,
Gu'n do leig e ſud na cho-thail.
Thuit Oſcar air a ghlun deas,
'San 'n tſleagh nimhe treamh a chneas,
Gun do chuir e ſleagh no naoidh ſeannadh,
Mu chummadh fhuilt agus eadin.
CAIRBRE. " Eirich Art is glac do chloidheamh,
" Seaſabh ſuas an aite t' athair,
" Mu thig u beo o na cathabh
" Gu mu riogh rath u air Eirinn."
Thug e urchair eille 'nairde,
(Air linn fein bu leoir a h airde)
Leagadh leis aig mead a chuimſe
Art mac Cairbre air an agh urchair.
Chuir iad crun 'n riogh mu 'n cheap,
Chum ſgu mbuinnte leogh an arach.

He reared a firm and even mound on the red ſide of the hill, and broke the king's crown upon the ſtump of a tree, the laſt action of my valiant ſon.

Oscar. "Lift me up now, ye Fians, never did you lift me "up before; carry me to the ſunny hills, and take off my gar- "ments."

"Oh! ſon of victory, death has come upon you—the ſecond "wound has not told a falſehood. The ſhips[k] of your grand- "father are at hand; they come to our aſſiſtance."

All the Fians ſaluted Fin, though he did not ſalute us. He came to the hill of tears, where lay Oſcar of the ſharp ſword.

Fin. "Oh! my ſon, you were in greater danger on the day "of the battle of Dundalgin[l]; when the healing herbs were "applied to your wounds, it was my hand that effected your "cure."

Oscar. "My cure is now paſt your ſkill, nor will it ever be "accompliſhed. Cairbre has wounded me with his ſeven-barbed "ſpear between the navel and kidney; and I pierced him with "my nine-barbed ſpear where the hair joins the forehead—the "phyſician will never heal the wound that my hand inflicted."

[k] At the time of the battle of Gabhra, Fin is ſaid to have been on a voyage to Rome (ſee the Urnigh Oſſian, ſtanza 34); he is here repreſented by the poet as juſt returning from thence.

[l] Now

Thog e leachdag chomhnart chruoigh,
Bhar no talmhuin taobh ruoigh,
Bhriſt e crun riogh mu 'n cheap,
Gniomh mu dheirre ma dheagh mhic.

OSCAR. " Togabh libh mi a nioſe Fhiann,
" Cha do thog ſibh mi roimh riomh,
" Togaibh mi gu tullich ghloin,
" Is thugabh dhiom 'n t' eadach."

" Marbhaiſg ort a mhic a buoth
" Ni u breug 'n darra h uair.
" Luingeas do ſheanathar at' an
" Is i thighin le cabhair chuginn."
Bheannuich ſuinn uille do Fhionn,
Ga ta cha do bheannuich dhuinn,
Ach gun d'tainig ſuinn tullich nan deur,
Far 'n rabh Oſcar na 'n arm gheur.

FIN. " 'S mioſa mhic a bhith tu dheth,
" Lath catha Duna-dealgun,
" Shnamhagh no curran triomh d'chneas,
" 'Si mo lamh a roinn do leigheas."

OSCAR. " Mo leighas cha nbheil e 'n fath,
" Ni mo dhianar e gu brath,
" Chuir Cairbre ſleagh no 'n ſeachd ſeanadh
" Eadar m' airnean agus m' iumleag.
" Chuir miſe ſleagh na naodh ſeannadh
" Mu chummagh fhuilt agus eaduin
" Nan ruige mo dhuirn a chneas,
" Cha deanadh no leigh a leigheas."

[1] Now Dundalk.

FIN. " Oh! my ſon, you were in greater danger on the day " of the battle of Benedin [m]; when the healing herb was applied " as the ſalve to your wounds, it was my hand that effected " your cure."

OSCAR. " My cure is now paſt your ſkill, nor will it ever be " accompliſhed; I am wounded in my right ſide, and my wound " is incurable by the phyſician."

WE lifted the noble Oſcar high upon our ſhields, and carried him away with care, until we came to the houſe [n] of Fin. The howling of the dogs by our ſide, the groans of the aged chiefs, the lamentation of all the Fians. It was this that afflicted my heart. No mother lamented her ſon, nor one brother for another, but each of us that was preſent wept for Oſcar [o].

[m] Now Howth.

[n] Almhuin, the palace of Fin, is not many miles diſtance from Gabhra.

[o] The ſubſequent ſtanza follows here in the edition of Perth, page 321, which I inſert, as it adds one more to the many arguments already adduced from poems ſtill current in the Highlands, that Ireland was the country of Oſcar:

Bas Oſcair a chradh mo chridh!
Triath fear Eirinn 's mor d' ar di;
Cait am facas riamh, re d' linn,
Fear co cruaidh ruit air chul lainn?

That is, " The death of Oſcar grieved my heart; our loſs is great in the prince of " the chiefs of Ireland. When in my time have I ever ſeen a man ſo valiant as " you behind a ſword?"

And in another very beautiful and pathetic, but mutilated, poem on this ſubject, publiſhed as a ſpecimen by Mr. Gillies of Perth, he is alſo called " the prince of " Ireland:"

Bas

FIN. " 'S mioſa mhic a bhi tu dheth,
" Lath catha Bein-eudin,
" Shnamhagh na geoidh troimh do chneas,
" 'Si mo lamh a roinn do leigheas."

OSCAR. " Mo leigheas cha 'n bheil e 'n fath,
" Ni mo dhianar e gu brath,
" Gaimh 'n donach 'm thaobh deas
" 'S dorrite do leigh mo leigheas."

Thog ſuinne air 'n Oſcar aluin,
Air bharradh air ſgiath an airde,
Thug ſinn as iomchara grinn,
Gus an e' thainig ſinn tigh Fheinn.
Donnalich na 'n con rir taobh,
Mar ri buireadh no 'n ſean laoch,
Is gul an Fhian uile mu 'n ſeach,
Gur be ſud a chruigh mi nchriodhe.
Cha choineadh bean a mac fein,
Ni mo chaoineadh a bhraithear e,
A mhiad ſha bha ſinne 'n ſin,
Bha ſuinn uille caoinedh Oſcar.

Bas Oſcair 's e chradh mo chridh',
Triath ſir Eirinn ur-bhuidh':

That is, " The death of Oſcar grieved my heart; the prince of the heroes of fertile " Ireland."

And, in the ſame ſpecimen, the Fians of Ireland are introduced bewailing his loſs:

Mo thruagihe ſinn, Oſcair fheil,
Ma ſcar thuſa 'nochd rium fein,
Guilidh mi am feaſd gu tiom,
Is caoinidh uile Fhian Eirinn.

That is, " Woe is me, O generous Oſcar; if thou departeſt from me this night, I " ſhall lament as long as I am in being, and all the Fians of Ireland will be " mournful."

A very correct copy of this poem is preſerved in the library of the univerſity of Dublin.

FIN. " Oſcar, my beloved, beloved by my beloved, ſon of " my ſon, mild and valiant, my heart pants over thee like a " black-bird! Never more ſhall Oſcar ariſe!"

FIN did not baniſh this great ſorrow from his ſoul from that day to the hour of his death; nor would he take, were it offered to him, the third part of the whole world in compariſon of his loſs [p].

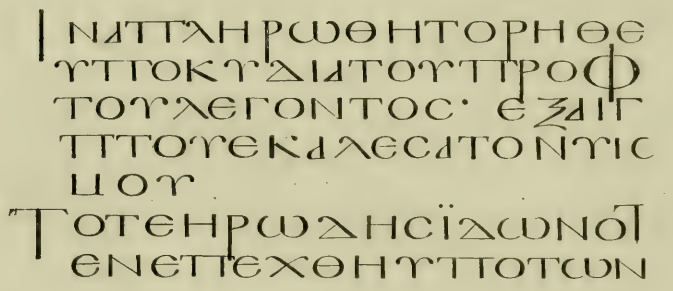
[p] The cauſe of this battle, in which Oſcar was ſlain, aſſigned in the copy of the *Cath Gabhra* preſerved in the library of Dublin College, was not a private quarrel between Cairbre and Oſcar, as repreſented in this poem and the firſt book of Temora, but the reſentment of Cairbre and the Iriſh princes in general for the improper conduct of the Fians. And this latter account of the matter is confirmed by an extract from the Book of Howth, preſerved in the library of Dublin College, which I here ſubjoin, as it throws ſome light on the nature of the order of theſe Fians, and their duty:

" In Ireland there were ſoldiers, called Fyn Erin, appointed to keep the ſea coaſts, " fearing foreign invaſion or foreign princes to enter the realme. The names of " theſe ſoldiers were Fin M'Cuil, Coloilon, Keilte, Oſcar Mac Oſſeyn, Dermot " O Doyn, Collemagh Mornè, and diverſe others. Theſe ſoldiers waxed bold, as " ſhall appear hereafter at length, and ſo ſtrong, that they did contrary to the orders " and inſtitutions taken by the kings of Ireland, their chiefs and governors, and be- " came very ſtrong and ſtout, and at length would do more things than themſelves " without licence of the kings of the land. Part of their miſdeameanors was, they " charged all the commons of Ireland that they ſhould not hunt without their " ſpecial licenſe; and if they did, they ſhould pay after this value, for a hare's kill- " ing xx[d], for a water-dog killing double as much, and ſo after that rate, doubling " ſtill

" Mo laogh fein u, laogh mo laoigh,
" Leanabh mo leinabh, ghil chaomh,
" Mo chroidhe liumnich mar lon,
" Gu lath bhrath cha n' eirich Oſcar."
Cha do chuir Fionn deth chriogh mor-ghrain,
O'n latha ſin gu lath a bhais;
Cha ghabhadh e, cha bu d thigeadh leis,
Trian d'an bheatha ge d' abruinn.

" ſtill as the game was, as the fox, the wolfe, the deer, and all other paſtimes. Such " diſorders they kept, that the kings did aſſemble together, that they would baniſh " them the kingdom, and ſo ſent them word; who made anſwer that they would " not, unleſs they were put out by battle. And ſo theſe ſoldiers ſent to Denmark " for their king's ſon, with a thouſand tall worthy ſoldiers as ever croſſed the ſeas " before that time to Ireland. And ſo the day of battle was appointed. At which " time all the kings of Ireland did prepare againſt that day of battle to the number " of . . . . M and five. The number of ſoldiers and ſtrangers was xxviii M, and " vii C Danes of Norway. The place of the battle was at Burne-vegein in Mauga- " then, in Meath appointed. But theſe ſtrangers thought themſelves ſo ſtrong and " apt for battle, they made haſte to come to fight, and came to Ardrath againſt " the kings; who made haſte alſo, and came to Gareſton, and they, perceiving their " enemies ſo nigh, embattail themſelves there; and after kiſſed the ground, and gave " a great cry, as their manner was, of which cry that name was given Balli-garva. " The order of the battle was this: Thoſe ſoldiers placed themſelves by the S. W. " the hill of Ardrath in one great battail, &c. The iſſue was, all the foreigners " were ſlain, ſaving one called Oſſein, who was alive 'till St. Patrick's coming, who " told that holy man of all their doings," &c.

S[t] MATTHEW. Ch. II. Ve. 15. 16.



The Margin is here cut off and one Letter lost upon each line except the last.

Various Forms.

Account of a GREEK MANUSCRIPT *of* SAINT MATTHEW's GOSPEL, *in the Library of* TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN. *By the Rev. Mr.* BARRETT, *F. T. C. D. Communicated by the Rev.* WILLIAM HAMILTON, *F. T. C. D. Secretary to the Committee of Antiquities.*

Read November 20, 1786.

AMONG the manuſcripts in the collection of Trinity College there are ſome which have been hitherto undeſcribed, and which in general contain extracts from the writings of the Greek fathers. One of theſe is written over three other more ancient manuſcripts; the characters of which, though much effaced by art or time, are ſtill ſufficiently viſible to be read in moſt places. One of theſe ancient manuſcripts is found to contain a conſiderable part of *St. Matthew*'s Goſpel, and in a great meaſure to ſupply the deficient places in the *Alexandrian*, *Ephrem* and manuſcript of *Cambridge*, and alſo in ſeveral manuſcripts of the ſecond claſs, or middle antiquity.

IN the following memoir I propoſe to deſcribe the above-mentioned manuſcript; and to offer ſome reaſons reſpecting its probable date.

The modern manuſcript, which is of quarto ſize, and is I am of opinion of the thirteenth century, is divided into quaternions, of which the firſt eleven, containing eighty-eight leaves, are wanting, and have been loſt for at leaſt one hundred and twenty years. The work of *St. John Chryſoſtom*, on the prieſthood, ſeems to have been written on them. On the twelfth quaternion, the modern manuſcript is written over two fragments of *Iſaiah*, the characters of which are of the firſt kind of uncials. On the thirteenth, and alſo ſome others, it is written over ſome orations of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, the characters of which reſemble thoſe of the copy of the ſame work, made in the ninth century for the uſe of the Emperor *Baſilius Macedo*. Both theſe manuſcripts are written in two columns upon each page, and the laſt of them is every where marked with accents and ſpirits: In the firſt of them I have been able to diſcover only one word marked with an accent and ſpirit. On the fourteenth quaternion, and ſome others, it is written over the goſpel of *St. Matthew*; and the part of it which remains takes up ſixty-four pages, of which fifty nine contain parts entirely wanting in the *Alexandrian*. Its characters are equal in ſize to thoſe in *Montfaucon*'s ſpecimen of the *Cæſarean Geneſis*, and bear a great ſimilitude to the characters of the *Alexandrian*. A ſingle column occupies each page, in which it reſembles the manuſcript of *Ephrem* and ſeveral other ancient manuſcripts. I ſhall compare this manuſcript with the moſt ancient extant, in the following particulars, the diviſion of the text, orthography, interpunction and contractions.

The moſt early diviſion of the ſacred text was made by the κεφάλαια majora, with titles annexed; of theſe there are ſixty-eight

eight in *St. Matthew*, and the firſt of them commences at ch. ii. ver. 1. By whom this diviſion was introduced is unknown; but Dr. *Mill* ſuppoſes (Proleg. 354) with great probability, that it was made by *Tatian* in the ſecond century, for the purpoſe of compoſing his harmony. For that it was made for the purpoſe of an harmony Dr. *Mill* proves; and the ſilence of *Euſebius* concerning this, when he mentions the other diviſion introduced by *Ammonius* in the third century for the ſame purpoſe, is a ſufficient proof that it was not made by *Ammonius*. The next diviſion was into the *Ammonian* ſections, made by *Ammonius* in the third century; of theſe there are three hundred and fifty-five in *St. Matthew*. In the fourth century *Euſebius* accommodated the numbers of his canons to theſe ſections. The *Alexandrian* and *Ephrem* have all theſe numbers: the Teſtament of *Beza*, or manuſcript of *Cambridge*, has the ſections of *Ammonius*, but not the numbers of *Euſebius* (Millii Proleg. 1271) which are alſo wanting in this manuſcript, which has all the reſt. But Dr. *Mill*'s reaſon for the omiſſion of theſe numbers in *Beza*'s manuſcript, "that the tranſcriber had not the vermillion ready in "which it was uſual to write them, and therefore poſtponed it," cannot have a place here; as we have an inſtance in this manuſcript of an *Ammonian* ſection that is written in vermillion. The κεφάλαια are put both in the margin and at the top of the page, which is done alſo in one part of the *Alexandrian*.

With reſpect to orthography, we may obſerve in it the moſt perfect agreement with the above mentioned manuſcripts, which are the moſt ancient extant; as will appear in the following particulars:

First. It has the ſame permutations of the vowels and diphthongs, ε and αι, ι and ει, which they have. Theſe are very frequent in the book of the Acts, which belonged to venerable *Bede:* and we may obſerve αι written for ε, in one of the *Corcyræan* inſcriptions. Vide Diarium Ital. p. 424.

Secondly. It changes ſome letters as they do. Thus it writes ε for α; thus διεφρεμμένη for διεφραμμένη, as in the *Alexandrian* and *Ephrem*; ἐκαθερίσθη for ἐκαθαρίσθη: The ſame change is frequent in the manuſcript of *Beza.* It alſo writes α for ε; thus ἐξήλθατε for ἐξήλθετε, Matt. xi. 7. which is done in the ſame place in *Ephrem* and *Beza*'s manuſcript, and occurs in theſe manuſcripts and the *Alexandrian* in Matt. xxvi. 39. We may obſerve a ſimilar change of theſe letters in the inſcriptions copied by *Pocock* from the ſtatue of *Memnon*, where ἐξεφθέγγατο is written for ἐξεφθέγγετο. And *Phrynichus*, a grammarian of the ſecond century, mentions and condemns (p. 31) a like confuſion of theſe letters. It writes alſo δ for θ, in the following inſtance, Βηδφαγῆ; as in the *Alexandrian*, Βηδσαϊδα. The ſame confuſion of theſe letters is mentioned by *Phrynichus*, in the place to which I have referred above; by *Euſtathius*, in his notes upon the twenty-firſt book of the *Iliad*, page 1338, l. 40; and by the author of the *Etymologicon magnum* of *Sylburgius*, p. 317, ſub voce ἐελδωρ. An inſtance of a ſimilar change may be found in the inſcriptions of *Palmyra*, which write Ξανδικὸς for Ξανθικὸς. It is alſo believed that it writes ἐμμέσω for ἐν μέσω; which is done both in the *Alexandrian*, and *Bede*'s manuſcript of the Acts. The *Corcyræan* Inſcription (Vide Diar. Ital^m. p. 415) writes, in the ſame manner, ἐμμὴνι for ἐν μὴνι; and the *Oxford* Marbles. Vide Marmor.

Marmor. 3m. l. 62. Both these inscriptions are written in the *Doric* dialect.

Thirdly. It adds and omits a letter as they do. Thus λήμψομαι for λήψομαι. Which is done, according to *Smith*, in the *Cottonian* Gospels; and occurs very frequently in the *Alexandrian*, Testament of *Beza*, and *Bede*'s manuscript of the Acts. It occurs in the *Codex Coislinianus*, No. 202. Vide *Montfaucon*'s Specimen, Bibl. Coislin. p. 262; and in the *Codex Boernerianus*, vide *Kuster*'s Preface. And the *Ionic* dialect retains μ in like manner. Thus, in *Herodotus*, ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπετο, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμψεαι. *Polymnia*, ch. xxxix. See also *Thalia*, ch. cxxvii. It writes ἐκχυννόμενον and ἐρράπισαν, as the *Alexandrian*, *Ephrem*, and Testament of *Beza* do, in the very same place; another instance of which orthography occurs in Acts xxi. 31.

Fourthly. It puts the augment before the preposition; thus, ἐπροφήτευσαν, Matt. xi. 14, which is done in the same place in *Ephrem* and *Beza*'s manuscript. It always adds ν ἐφελκυσικὸν; it expresses numbers by words; and always writes οὕτως, and not οὕτω, even though a consonant begins the following word.

The same agreement subsists between them in the interpunction. The most ancient method of interpunction is by a single point, which being placed either at the top, the middle or the bottom of the line, denotes a period, colon or semicolon. This method is used here also. And the marks of interrogation, which *Montfaucon* found only in manuscripts from the ninth century, are wanting. It agrees with them in having no accents

or

or ſpirits, neither from a firſt or ſecond hand; and in being written without any diſtinction of the words from each other. It marks ι and υ with double points, when they are not joined to another letter, and do not make a diphthong. In the *Alexandrian* a ſmall mark may be obſerved, reſembling the modern figure of the ſpiritus lenis, and which frequently is put over the word at the end of a ſyllable; thus, Βηδ᾽σαϊδα: I have obſerved here one inſtance perfectly ſimilar to the above; thus, Βηδ᾽φαγῆ.

With reſpect to contractions, no manuſcript extant has ſo few, as will appear from the following enumeration of its contractions. It has no word contracted which is not alſo contracted in the *Alexandrian*, and of theſe it wants the following.

First. Οὐρανὸς and its caſes are in almoſt every inſtance uncontracted. This word is contracted in the *Cæſarean Geneſis*, Palæog. p. 194: and in the *Coiſlinian* manuſcript, No. 1, of the ſixth or ſeventh century; Bibl. Coiſlin. p. 3. It is almoſt always contracted in *Bede*'s manuſcript of the Acts. In the Teſtament of *Beza* it is uncontracted, as appears from Mr. *Aſtle*'s ſpecimen; and in the *Cottonian Geneſis*. Vide Vetuſta Monumenta ſumptibus Societatis Antiquariorum, Tab. 1. Spec. 1.

Secondly. Υἱὸς and its caſes are almoſt always uncontracted. This is done alſo in the *Cottonian Geneſis*, Tab. 2. Speci. 5, and in *Beza*'s manuſcript, vide Mr. *Aſtle*'s ſpecimen. And in the book of the Acts, which belonged to *Bede*. And according to *Smith*, in the *Cottonian* Goſpels (*Smith*'s Catalogue, p. 128.) And

in

in the *Colbertine*, No. 3084. Palæog. Gr. p. 188. And in the manuſcript, *Sangermanenſis*. Palæog. p. 219. In the *Alexandrian*, υἱος is ſometimes uncontracted.

THIRDLY. Μητρὸς is uncontracted: alſo μητέρα, κύριος, and ἀνθρώποις, are ſometimes uncontracted. But according to *Smith* (vide *Smith*'s Cat. p. 128) the *Cottonian* Goſpels and Teſtament of *Beza* contract Κύριος. In the *Cottonian Geneſis*, Tab. 1. Spec. 7. ἀνθρώπου is uncontracted.

FOURTHLY. Καὶ is never contracted; which is contracted in both the *Cæſarean Geneſis* and *Dioſcorides*. Palæog. p. 194 & 208. Nor is there any mark ſubſtituted for αι at the end of a verb, which is frequently done in the manuſcript of *Bede*.

I SHALL now proceed to mention other conſiderations, from which we may be able to draw ſome concluſions reſpecting its probable date; and, to this purpoſe, muſt obſerve that all writing in Greek manuſcripts may be reduced to three claſſes. The firſt comprehends the manuſcripts written in round and ſquare uncials; in the ſecond are contained thoſe written in oval, oblong and inclined uncials; in the third thoſe written in ſmall letters. The firſt claſs is referred to the ſixth century, the ſecond to the ninth, and the third has univerſally prevailed from the eleventh century.

THE following reaſons will prove the manuſcript in queſtion to belong to the firſt claſs:

FIRST.

First. It is written, as will appear from the ſpecimen an-
PLATE. nexed, in round and ſquare uncials. And this with ſo much exactneſs, that no variation from the round and ſquare figure is to be perceived any where. Now, as antiquarians agree that the change in the capitals commenced in the eighth century, and all the ſpecimens I have ſeen prove the ſame, and as this argument is built on that which conſtitutes the eſſential diſtinction between the two ſpecies of writing, and which affects not a few but all the letters, it appears to me to put it beyond doubt that it precedes the eighth century.

Secondly. What has been proved before, from the form of all the letters in general, will alſo be confirmed from the figures of particular letters. *Montfaucon* lays it down as a mark of diſtinction between the two kinds of manuſcripts, that in the latter Δ and Θ, to which we might alſo add ſeveral other letters, have altered their figure in the more ancient manuſcripts, conſiderably. No inſtance of this change is here perceivable. The letters in the ſecond claſs of manuſcripts are loaded with a variety of Gothic ornaments; and, to uſe *Wetſtein*'s words, "ſunt pinguiores "et habent apices, et baſibus inſiſtunt." Vide Specimina in Palæog. p. 219, 229, 232 & 234. Nothing ſimilar is here perceivable. The larger capitals in theſe manuſcripts are made, even from the eighth century (Palæog. p. 254) in the form of pictures of remarkable events, and loaded with a variety of ſuperfluous lines. Palæog. p. 229 & 234. And the figure of the croſs is to be met with at the ends of ſentences. Vide Palæog. p. 229, 234 & 514. et Catal. Bibl. Laurentio Mediceæ, Tom. ii. Tab. iii. Specimina vi. et viii. And Mr. *Aſtle*, Tab. ii. Spec. x. and xi.

In

In this, although it is written with greater care than any other of which I have ſeen a ſpecimen, nothing ſimilar can be obſerved: The capitals here are always unornamented, and put without the line. Nothing can be more ſimple, and at the ſame time more beautiful, than the forms of the letters, which are deſtitute of every ornament, although the greateſt care and pains are every where viſible in the making of them. Wherefore, what I before inferred from its having all the ſigns of antiquity, I now conclude from its wanting all the ſigns of modernneſs.

A THIRD argument is drawn from the want of ſpirits and accents; which having been before confined to the books of the grammarians, were, according to *Montfaucon* (Palæog. p. 223) firſt introduced into the manuſcripts in the ſeventh century. And as I cannot upon a very diligent enquiry find them in this manuſcript, it forms a very ſtrong argument that it precedes the ſeventh century. The *Cæſarean Dioſcorides* of the ſixth, and *Claromontane* of the ſeventh century (vide Palæog. p. 217, and *Lambecius*'s Comment. de Bibl. Cæſarea, Tom. ii. p. 521) are written with accents and ſpirits: alſo the *Coiſlinian* manuſcripts, No 1 and No. 202 (vide Bibl. Coiſlinian. p. 1 and 252) which are of the ſixth century. But in theſe manuſcripts the accents are ſuppoſed to have been put by a ſecond hand.

I SHALL now proceed to conſider ſome objections which may be made to this concluſion, " that it precedes the ſeventh cen- " tury," and which might lead us to ſuppoſe it poſterior in point

of time to the celebrated manuſcripts of the Goſpels of the firſt claſs; and they may be reduced to theſe two:

First. That the letters of this manuſcript are in general more curved than thoſe of the aforeſaid, in which the ſtrokes are for the moſt part rectilineal; and therefore that this manuſcript is leſs ancient.

Secondly. That there are ſome letters in it which have forms that may be obſerved in certain ſpecimens of the ſeventh century.

I readily allow that the moſt ancient forms of the Greek letters were compoſed of right lines, for this concluſion will force itſelf upon us, whether we conſult our reaſon or our experience. The firſt writing was upon hard ſubſtances, and on ſuch the right line is moſt eaſily formed: The firſt writing then muſt have conſiſted of letters that were rectilineal, and conſequently muſt be angular and not curved. And on the moſt ancient monuments of Greece, for example, the *Amyclæan* inſcription, every letter is compoſed of right lines (ſee Mr. *Aſtle*, Tab. II.) and no letter occurs that is curved. And this cannot be conſidered merely as a neceſſary effect from the nature of the ſubſtance on which this inſcription is written; becauſe in after times, on the ſame ſubſtances, the very ſame letters are formed of curve lines. We muſt therefore conſider it as ariſing from this circumſtance; that in that early period the Greek alphabet was entirely compoſed of rectilineal letters; and this again

again is ultimately reſolved into the nature of the ſubſtances on which they wrote. And among moſt or all barbarous nations we ſhall find their alphabets to conſiſt chiefly of rectilineal letters; for example, the *Runic*, and the *Engliſh* black letter. But then I aſſert on the other hand,

First. That curvature in the letters of the Greek alphabet is alſo exceeding ancient. In a *Lacedæmonian* inſcription (Mr. *Aſtle* on the Origin and Progreſs of Writing, Tab. II.) bearing the names of *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus*, the letters B, E, Σ and O are curved. In the *Sigean* inſcription, dated 594 years before Chriſt, Φ, O and Θ are round, and the Σ is ſometimes rectilineal and ſometimes curved, The ſame forms may be obſerved on the *Delian* inſcription of *Tournefort*. And in the *Ionic* inſcriptions of *Montfaucon*, Palæog. p. 135, dated 450 years before Chriſt, the ſame may be obſerved.

Secondly. The ſame argument which proves rectilineal letters, when the queſtion is concerning hard ſubſtances to precede curved, will prove in the caſe of ſoft ſubſtances curved letters to precede angular; becauſe curved letters are more eaſily formed upon ſoft ſubſtances. I do not however mean to aſſert that this is the caſe, for I think the contrary moſt probable; but I only deny that it is a neceſſary conſequence, that becauſe the firſt writing on hard ſubſtances was rectilineal, that therefore the firſt writing on ſoft ſubſtances ſhould be ſo: Becauſe this argument concludes that to hold true of ſoft ſubſtances which is true of hard ſubſtances, although the reaſon why it holds true in the latter kind is, be-

 cauſe

cauſe they are hard. Thus it concludes equally of both ſubſtances, although it is founded upon the eſſential diſtinction that ſubſiſts between them. I own it ſeems not improbable that the firſt writing upon ſoft ſubſtances was rectilineal, in imitation of that which preceded it; but then, from the reaſon above aſſigned, the curve line muſt have almoſt immediately ſucceeded; and then the inſcriptions that are poſterior in date, would, in imitation hereof, exhibit curved letters. And therefore I conclude, from conſidering the *Amyclæan* and *Sigean* inſcriptions, that writing on ſoft ſubſtances was probably introduced between the dates of thoſe two inſcriptions.

THIRDLY. The concluſion of the learned editor of the *Alexandrian* is the ſame with what I have before admitted, "that "in writing upon ſoft ſubſtances angular letters precede curved:" But the principle on which he founds this concluſion, "be- "cauſe they are more difficult to be formed, and whatever is more "difficult is alſo more ancient," being admitted, would entirely remove the firſt objection. For, according to this reaſoning, curved muſt precede angular letters in writing upon hard ſubſtances.

FOURTHLY. When I admit this concluſion, does it not thence follow that I admit the point in queſtion, that this manuſcript is leſs ancient than the celebrated manuſcripts of the firſt claſs? To this I anſwer, Not, for the following reaſons:

FIRST.

First. At the very time theſe manuſcripts were written the ſame letters were differently formed; and ſometimes they conſiſted of right lines and were angular, and ſometimes were curved. To prove this we muſt have recourſe to the manuſcripts themſelves. In the *Alexandrian*, I inſtance in the letters B and Φ, and alſo in M. In the *Cottonian Geneſis*, in M and Φ. In *Ephrem*, in the letters Ξ and X, Palæog. p. 214. In the *Cæſarean Dioſcorides*, in the letters Ξ (as appears from comparing Dr. *Woide*'s Specimen with that of *Lambecius)* and Ψ (as appears from comparing *Lambecius*'s Specimen, Palæog. p. 202, with that of *Neſſelius*, Tom. 1, Tab. K. L. M). In this manuſcript, in the letters A. B. Υ. Φ. X. Ξ. Wherefore the ſame letters having been formed variouſly by the ſame hand and at the ſame time, with reſpect to the number and nature of the lines that compoſe them, I am led to believe that no concluſive argument can be founded on this for determining the relative ages of the manuſcripts.

Secondly. Manuſcripts of the middle antiquity or ninth century abound with letters which are not leſs rectilineal and angular than thoſe in manuſcripts of the firſt claſs. Thus the letters Ξ and B, in the *Codex Harleianus*, No. 5598, Palæog. p. 514. And the letter Ψ in manuſcripts of the ninth century (Palæog. p. 232 & 234) is compoſed of right lines, and thoſe as few in number as poſſible, both which are marks of the form being ancient. And in fact ſuch form of Ψ occurs on the *Baſilidian Gems* (Palæog. p. 180, 338). Wherefore this argument can have place only in comparing manuſcripts of the ſame claſs together, in which caſe it will produce contradictory concluſions; and if carried

carried to its whole extent, will lead us to abſurd concluſions.

On the whole I ſee nothing abſurd or impoſſible in the caſe of ancient forms occurring in manuſcripts leſs ancient than themſelves; and the only caſe from which we can ſafely conclude, ſeems to be from that of forms confeſſedly modern occurring in manuſcripts whoſe dates are ſuppoſed antecedent to the introduction of thoſe forms; and this brings me to conſider the ſecond objection. Which is, that the forms of A. Δ. Λ. M. Υ. obſerved in this manuſcript occur alſo in *Turonenſis*, a manuſcript referred upon conjecture to the ſeventh century, and in ſome other ſpecimens of the ſeventh or eighth century, Palæog. p. 214, 224. But theſe forms can be proved both from the inſcriptions and manuſcripts to precede the ſeventh century. For with reſpect to this form of M, we have the expreſs aſſertion of *Montfaucon* (Palæog. p. 130, 171, 142, 180) and we may obſerve it to occur on the *Palmyrenian* inſcriptions, and thoſe which *Pocock* copied from the ſtatue of *Memnon*, and which are dated in the reign of *Adrian*. On theſe laſt we may obſerve alſo the ſame forms of Λ and Δ which occur here; and we have in the *Marmora Oxon.* Lond. 1732, p. 594, an inſcription where the Λ is made as here. In the appendix of the preface to *Gudius*'s inſcriptions, we may find ſome inſtances of a ſimilar form of Δ. Similar forms of theſe letters occur alſo in inſcriptions of uncertain date, in a book entitled Siciliæ et objacentium Inſularum inſcriptionum Collectio. Panormi 1769. See Proleg. p. 39, 42 & 43. The form of Υ which occurs here may be obſerved in inſcriptions of every age.

age. And with reſpect to the manuſcripts, the *Cottonian Geneſis* ſupplies us with an inſtance of ſuch a form of M, when it is at the end of a line (ſee Mr. *Aſtle*'s Specimen, Tab. III). Alſo the Δ and Λ in the Specimen of *Beza*'s Teſtament, and a Δ in the Specimen of the *Coiſlinian* manuſcript, No. 202, ſeem to reſemble the ſame letters here. With reſpect to the letter A, it has in this manuſcript two forms; in both the principal ſtroke is a perpendicular right line; but in one the letter is compoſed of two other right lines, forming angles with each other and the perpendicular; in the other, one round line ſeems to have been ſubſtituted for theſe two. The firſt form I have not met with any where elſe; the ſecond form is found in *Turonenſis*, and alſo is very ſimilar to an A in the Specimen of *Bede*'s manuſcript. But hence we cannot deduce that it is of the ſame date with *Turonenſis*, inaſmuch as this laſt manuſcript is not written in round and ſquare uncials, and muſt be therefore leſs ancient. It is alſo not unlike the A of *Cyril*'s alphabet, as repreſented in the *Encyclopedie*, Tom. 2, des Planches, Tab. XI. Paris 1763, where the principal ſtroke is made a perpendicular; which ſtroke in other copies of the ſame alphabet is repreſented as inclined. And we muſt obſerve that all the manuſcripts give this letter a form very different from what may be obſerved in the inſcriptions (Palæog. p. 142) except only a few inſcriptions in which the ſame form occurs, vide Marm. Oxon. p. 572, & Siciliæ Inſcriptionum Collectio, p. 241. The greateſt difference between this manuſcript and thoſe of the firſt claſs is in this letter; but hence we cannot infer it leſs ancient than them, as we have no authority for aſſerting that the A in Greek manuſcripts never had this figure

figure prior to the ſeventh century. It ſeems to have it in the manuſcript of *Bede*, which is referred by Mr. *Aſtle* to the fifth century.

From theſe arguments, compared with the deſcription above given, we may I think ſafely conclude that this manuſcript is not poſterior to the ſixth century. A greater antiquity than this cannot be inferred from merely conſidering the letters, in any manuſcript, according to *Montfaucon*. There are nevertheleſs not wanting arguments for a higher antiquity, of which the principal is a moſt ſtriking agreement between its various readings and thoſe of the moſt ancient fathers and verſions, and a total diſagreement from the manuſcripts of the ſecond claſs. It has alſo a wonderful agreement in its readings in many places with *Beza*'s Teſtament, and like it omits the doxology; from which it would ſeem to follow that it precedes the end of the fourth century. To this concluſion only two objections can be made; one is, that it has been interpolated from the *Latin Vulgate*; but this argument ſeems to be a *petitio principii*, for it cannot have been interpolated from that verſion, unleſs we ſuppoſe it poſterior to the end of the fourth century, when that verſion was made, which is the point in queſtion. Another and more ſpecious objection is, that it omits it becauſe its original omitted it, and that this original preceded that time. This would be a ſufficient reaſon if the manuſcript wanted the ſigns of antiquity, and if it appeared from every other conſideration that this manuſcript belonged to the middle ages. But as there appears nothing to limit its age, and it may have all that antiquity, it will be more

more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it that original itſelf. We muſt add to this the great reſemblance between it and the *Alexandrian* in many of its letters; thus we have in an *Ammonian* ſection, a figure of the Epiſemon Βαυ, perfectly like to that which *Montfaucon* obſerved in a Greek coin of *Gallienus* and of his ſucceſſor *Claudius*, and on other monuments of the ſame age, the third century, Palæog. p. 128, which figure alſo nearly occurs in the *Alexandrian*. In the letter Ψ it perfectly reſembles the *Cottonian Geneſis*, whereas both *Beza*'s Teſtament and the manuſcript of *Bede* give a very different form to this letter. We ſhould add to this, that it has a form of A which probably has not yet been met with in any manuſcript. That moſt like it may be found in the *Cottonian Geneſis*, which is different from the A of all the manuſcripts, and differs from this chiefly in the inclination of the principal line, which is here perpendicular. It has alſo the rectilineal Ξ of the *Colbertine*, No. 3084, and of *Ephrem*. The want of the *Euſebian* numbers, when it has the *Ammonian* ſections, will be another great argument, and the more eſpecially when we conſider that both *Ephrem* and the *Alexandrian* have them, and *Beza*'s Teſtament only wants them. I cannot alſo paſs over my ſuſpicion that this manuſcript has been originally written on purple parchment, a practice of the higheſt antiquity; for *St. Jerom*, in the fourth century, deſcribes the ancient manuſcripts as written on purple parchment; and many of the ancient authors mention the cuſtom of ſtaining the parchment on which they wrote. The ſame ſubſtance which was uſed to diſcharge the writing has in a great meaſure diſcharged the colour of the parchment; notwithſtanding which it in many places appears plainly ſtained with a colour, and this

colour in the judgment of many perſons who have ſeen it was originally a purple; for it now appears a faint purple. Another argument of the greateſt weight is the paucity of its contractions; as I apprehend it will be found that no manuſcript known has fewer.

An Account of ANTIENT COINS, *found at* BALLYLINAM *in the* QUEEN's COUNTY, IRELAND; *with Conjectures thereon. In a Letter to* JOSEPH COOPER WALKER, *M. R. I. A. and Honorary Member of the Etruſcan Academy of Cortona. From* WILLIAM BEAUFORD, *A. M. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*

ATHY, FEBRUARY 16, 1787.

SIR,

IN June, 1786, ſome peaſants dug up in a field in the Queen's County, near Ballylinam (about four miles from Athy) an earthen urn, containing a great number of ſmall ſilver coins, which they immediately diſtributed among themſelves, and ſold to different people. Several of theſe coins were purchaſed by the Rev. Mr. Aſhe of this town, and by him preſented to the Muſeum of Trinity College, Dublin; they were afterwards ſubmitted to the inſpection of the Royal Iriſh Academy. Read Feb. 19, 1787.

As theſe coins ſhew evident marks of high antiquity, and in ſeveral particulars differ from thoſe diſcovered in Britain and on the continent, I have endeavoured to explain twelve of them,

and muſt requeſt you will do me the honor to lay my eſſay before the Academy, for their inſpection.

THERE is perhaps no part of antiquities which throws greater light on the hiſtory of a country than the coins and medals of different periods, when properly illuſtrated; as thereby ſeveral articles relative to the manners and cuſtoms of former times receive an illuſtration, which probably otherwiſe would be buried in eternal oblivion. To whom mankind are indebted for ſo uſeful a diſcovery as coins in the tranſactions of civil life, is not only unneceſſary, but at this period impoſſible to aſcertain.

COMMERCE, as it was the principal means of drawing the human race from a vagrant and unſettled life, and thereby conſtituting civil ſociety, gave riſe, undoubtedly, to the invention of money, as a convenient medium, in order to render the tranſactions between individuals much more eaſy and expeditious than otherwiſe could be effected by the exchange of one commodity for another.

MAN, leading a ſavage and unſettled life, ſubſiſting on the precarious acquirements of the chace, and the ſpontaneous productions of the earth, has little regard to any other property than a ſcanty ſubſiſtence from day to day; he has therefore no occaſion for an article which, in every department of civil ſociety, has become ſo beneficial and yet ſo deſtructive to mankind. But no ſooner are the arts of civil life introduced, and private property in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed, than he finds himſelf ſurrounded by a thouſand wants to which before he was an utter ſtranger. Habitations, clothes,

clothes, and numerous leſſer important articles, become neceſſary appendages to his exiſtence. To obtain theſe, recourſe muſt be had to the labours and inventions of his neighbours, whence riſe the ſeveral ſpecies of commerce, and the uſe of a ſtandard commodity, which might ſerve as an univerſal medium for every article of domeſtic and ſocial utility. Accordingly we find, from the remoteſt antiquity, all nations, which had in any degree emerged from a ſtate of barbariſm, uſing ſome ſubſtance or other as a ſtandard article of commerce. Poliſhed bits of wood, ſhells, beads, rings and bars of iron, appear to have been the firſt attempts in this way. Theſe, on the advancement of civilization, and the improvement of arts, gave place to pieces of braſs, ſilver or gold, of different forms and dimenſions, and which in ſubſequent ages became ornamented with various devices and legends, according to the learning and genius of the ſeveral nations amongſt whom they originated.

The various Celtic tribes, who in the early ages inhabited the weſtern wilds of ancient Europe, being in a great meaſure deſtitute of commerce, were moſt probably ignorant of money before the introduction of agriculture and the different branches of trade, by foreign merchants on their ſouthern and weſtern coaſts.

The Phœnician and Carthaginian merchants were probably the firſt adventurers who reached the Britiſh iſles; but of the improvements they introduced, and the ſpecies of commerce they cultivated with the then barbarous natives, except in that of tin, we are entirely ignorant: No coins, or other monuments

monuments of antiquity belonging to thoſe people, have ever been diſcovered either in Great Britain or Ireland; and from the relation of Strabo[a], we find theſe ancient traders took every method to keep their commercial diſcoveries ſecret from the world; ſo that theſe iſlands muſt have been imperfectly known for many ages.

The Punic commerce, whatever were its objects, was by the frequent diſſentions of the rival ſtates of Rome and Carthage often interrupted, and finally ruined at the deſtruction of Carthage, on the concluſion of the third Punic war. Though we may rather conſider it to have expired, like a phœnix, to riſe more glorious from its aſhes. For the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, by paſſing the Streights of Gibraltar, and navigating the extenſive Atlantic Ocean, had ſo effectually raiſed the ſpirit of commerce on the weſtern coaſts of Europe, as not eaſily to be extinguiſhed; for the Greek colonies, eſtabliſhed on the ſouthern coaſt of Gaul at Marſeilles, became rivals to the Carthaginians about two hundred years before the Chriſtian æra[b], and in the reign of Auguſtus the Maſſylian commerce with theſe iſlands was become very conſiderable[c]. Whence there is ſome probability that theſe merchants firſt introduced the knowledge of money to the ancient Britons; for at Marſeilles, and Croton in Italy, have been diſcovered a number of very ancient golden coins, inſcribed with Greek letters, and of that ſpecies denominated *Incuſi*, being

[a] Strabo, lib. 3.

[b] Polyb. p. 290, 291. Strabo, p. 265.

[c] Strabo. p. 305. Diod. 347.

convexo-

convexo-concave, that is, convex on one ſide, and concave on the other[d]; ſuch golden coins have alſo been found in Britain, but none in Ireland. The Britiſh coins indeed differ in ſome reſpects from thoſe of Croton, having no Greek letters, nor bearing the figures of various animals, &c. ſo frequently obſerved on the Greek and Roman money; but ornamented with various uncouth figures, and were probably coined by the Britiſh chiefs, in imitation of the foreign money introduced by merchants; though ſoon after the arrival of Cæſar, and perhaps ſome years earlier, we find the Britons employing Roman artiſts in the manufacture of their money, eſpecially *Boadicia*, *Cunobeline* and *Caſſibelanus*; theſe coins bear the groteſque figures of various animals, and frequently inſcribed with Roman letters. In ſubſequent periods we diſcover Britiſh coins, probably by Britiſh artiſts, bearing the rude reſemblance of heads and other figures, expreſſive of the dreſs and cuſtoms of the people, and, when bearing legends, inſcribed with Roman letters[e]. Such coins are frequently found in various parts of Britain, but hitherto none have been diſcovered in Ireland; from whence we may reaſonably conclude, that from the earlieſt periods to the cloſe of the fifth century, no money was coined in this iſland, and little imported.

The barbarous Scythic nations who ſubverted the empire of Rome, that is, the Goths, Vandals and Teutons, before their acquaintance with the Romans were ignorant of money, when

[d] Swinburne's Travels.

[e] See the Britiſh coins given by Borlaſe, &c.

ſome

ſome pieces, chiefly ſilver, were introduced among the tribes on the borders of the Rhine and Danube[f]. Whence, on their taking poſſeſſion of that government, we find them imitating the Roman ſilver coins, and a new ſpecies of money is diſcovered ariſing in the weſt of Europe, conſiſting of ſmall thin ſilver pieces, not known to more ancient times, inſcribed with rude figures and barbarous characters. Such was the money of France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and England, from the ſixth to the twelfth century. And the coins of the Anglo Saxons from the beginning of the eighth to the cloſe of the tenth century[g], bear a ſtrong reſemblance, in their figure, legends and coinage, to the moſt ancient coins diſcovered in Ireland[h], and to thoſe under conſideration; ſo that we may infer they cannot be productions of very different periods.

Indeed Cambrenſis informs us, at leaſt it was the opinion of his time, that gold and ſilver, and conſequently money, was introduced into this kingdom by the Danes[i]. A circumſtance, moſt probably, not far from the truth; for it appears from the Chronicon Manniæ and Antiquitates Celto Scandicæ, that the Danes were acquainted with the uſe of money before their arrival in Ireland in the ninth century. As to the aſſertions of Keating, that money was coined in this iſland by Teghernus and

[f] Tacit. Germ. 26. Cæſar, l. 6, 22.

[g] See Gibſon's Camden.

[h] See the coins repreſented by Simon.

[i] Topogra. Hib. Diſt. 3, c. 10

Eadhna

Eadhna Dearg above two hundred and ſixty years before Chriſt, little dependance is to be had on them. If any ſuch perſons actually introduced the uſe and knowledge of money among the ancient Iriſh, the period muſt have been thrown too far back by ſeveral centuries. Nor can we have any greater dependance on the aſſertions of other Iriſh hiſtorians, that mints were erected at Ardmagh and Caſhel in the time of Laogaire, about the year 436 or 460.

The Iriſh chiefs becoming acquainted with the ſilver money of the Danes and Anglo Saxons, ſoon thought of ſtriking coins for themſelves; and accordingly either procured their own people to be inſtructed in the art, or hired Daniſh artificers for that purpoſe. Indeed no great abilities were required, the art of coinage during the middle ages being extremely ſimple, and well adapted to the convenience of men leading a vagrant and unſettled life; a ſmall portable anvil, with the face of the coin ſunk en creux on the top, and a hammer, on the face of which was ſunk the reverſe, with a pair of pincers, compoſed nearly the whole of the apparatus, as appears from ſeveral Britiſh coins on which the proceſs of coining is repreſented. The knowledge of coinage and the uſe of money once introduced into the kingdom, not only every king and chief or governor of a principality, but every dunaſt or chief of a canthred, procured money to be ſtruck in his name; even ſo late as the fifteenth century the O'Niels coined money in their ſeveral diſtricts, until prohibited by the Engliſh.

From theſe circumſtances there is the greateſt probability that no coins hitherto diſcovered in Ireland, and of Iriſh origin, are

older than the beginning of the eighth century, nor of a later date than the cloſe of the fifteenth, except thoſe made by order of the Engliſh government in this iſland.

From the rude manner in which the coins before us are executed, they are probably of the earlieſt periods, that is, from the eighth to the twelfth century; but being all without dates, their true age will not be eaſily aſcertained. The rude reſemblance of heads on them are all armed with the cloſe helmet of the northern nations, ſo prevalent through Europe from the tenth to the fifteenth century; and the univerſal figure of a croſs on the reverſe fully evinces their origin within the Chriſtian æra.

The legends are compoſed of mixed letters, found in the Latin and Roman alphabets during the middle ages, as given by Bernard. The different Runic characters of Wormius are of the ſame ſpecies as thoſe found on Runic coins and Runic inſcriptions in Sweden and the Iſle of Man: And alſo thoſe ſpecies of characters denominated by the Iriſh *Ogham Croabh*. All which characters ſo mixed are found in the Iriſh monumental inſcriptions and ſtone croſſes from the tenth to the ſixteenth century.

The legends on theſe coins, which are all in the Iriſh language, generally begin at the croſs near the head, and run from the left to the right; thoſe on the reverſe begin at a ſmall croſs adjoining the larger, in one of the quarters on the left.

The

The ornaments or figures, beſides the heads on the obverſe, and the large croſſes on the reverſe, are ſuch as repreſent the dignity and enſigns of the prince for whom they were ſtruck. The moſt general ornament in thoſe under conſideration is a rude figure in the oppoſite quarters of the croſſes, which ſeveral have taken for a harp, and others for a crown: However, from other coins, where the character is more perfectly delineated, it proves to be the repreſentation of a hand, the curved line repreſenting the thumb and wriſt, and the four lines proceeding from it the fingers, whoſe nails are noted by little balls or circles at the extremities. The hand was the ſymbol, among the northern nations, of power and ſtrength; and we are informed by Aldrovandus [k] that it was the ancient arms of Ireland, and was principally borne by the Northern or Ulſter tribes during the latter ages, and in the more early, indiſcriminately throughout the kingdom; even at this day it is borne by our baronets, that order being inſtituted by James the Firſt of England to ſerve in the wars of Ireland, and in conſequence bore in their eſcutcheon the ancient enſigns of the nation againſt whom they were ſent to fight.

Others of theſe coins bear in the quarters of the croſſes the repreſentation of a ſword. The ſword was the ſymbol of martial proweſs, and Aldrovandus, before quoted, aſſerts that this weapon was alſo borne by the Iriſh chiefs in their arms.

[k] Uliſſes Aldrovandus Ornitholog. L. 1.

In ſome are the repreſentations of various kinds of croſſes; and in others again three balls or ſmall circles placed triangularly, probably in honour of the Trinity.

On a few is a character or figure compoſed of a ſingle circle, or a double concentric one. This figure is alſo found on ſeveral Britiſh coins; by ſome it is taken for a chariot wheel, by others for a wreath or crown, and generally ſuppoſed to be the ſymbol of royal dignity.

Having thus attempted a general explanation of theſe curious remnants of Iriſh antiquities, I ſhall proceed to a more particular inveſtigation, in endeavouring to aſcertain the princes or chiefs by whom, and, if poſſible, the periods in which they were coined.

PLATE I. The figures of theſe coins in the annexed plate are all drawn at one and a half the original diameter, the real ſize being repreſented in No. XIII. at the bottom of the plate.

No. I.

On the obverſe is the repreſentation of a head armed with a cloſe helmet, ornamented with a creſt, and round it the following inſcription, in Runic and Ogham Croabh characters: PLATE I.

Ia dh mo lagh asro No. 1.

Viz.

Iadh mo: Laghas ro, for *O Magh Laoghaois re*, or *O Laoghis King*.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that the Gothic W ſhould in this, and all thoſe coins, expreſs the power of the Iriſh Gh. The W at this day, at the end of the words in the Ruſſian language, has nearly the power of the Iriſh Gh, and we may reaſonably conclude, among all the Tuetonic nations, the power was the ſame, and is very properly introduced here to expreſs that ſound.

On the reverſe is a large croſs dividing the coin into four quarters, in two of which is the reſemblance of a hand, before ſpoken of; and in the two other quarters ſymbolic characters, found on ſeveral Britiſh and Daniſh coins, with the following legend: PLATE I.

du n agh mag ra d No. 1.

Viz.

Dunagh mag rad, for *Dunagh magh riada*,

this coin belonging to one of the O'Mores of Laoghis or Leix in the Queen's County, whoſe place of reſidence was Dunagh

Dunagh or Dunnamaiſe, ſituated in the ancient canthred of Magh Riada[1], comprehending the preſent heath and barony of Maryborough.

No. II.

On the obverſe, a head in armour, as in the laſt, with a croſs oppoſite to the noſe, probably to denote his faith in the Chriſtian religion; and round it the following words, in Runic and Ogham Croabh characters:

PLATE I. No. 2.

b, oi, ll, a, oi, f o oi ll agh r o a gh

Viz.

Boillaoi Foillagh roagh, for *Beallagh Faillagh Re*,

i. e.

Bally Falle King.

On the reverſe, a croſs, in the oppoſite quarters of which is the rude reſemblance of a hand, and round theſe words:

PLATE I. No. 2.

o m u c a l a gh o oi d t h oi l

Or,

O Muc Cala Ghoidthoil, for *O Mac Cala Ghoidthol*,

Viz.

Of Magh Coillcan in Ghadhal or Caëllan,

which diſtrict comprehended the preſent baronies of Bally Cowen and Gary Caſtle, or at leaſt a part of them, in the King's County, whoſe hereditary chief in latter ages was denominated Mc. Callan.

[1] Keating.

But

But Beallagh Fallagh was prince or king of the principality of *Hy Fallia*, comprehending the preſent King's County, and in that diviſion of ancient Ireland called Gaoidthal or Caëllan, comprehending the preſent counties of Kildare and King's County, if not alſo the county of Dublin. There is no poſſibility of determining the date of this coin, as *Bally Falli* was the territorial title of the chiefs.

No. III.

On the obverſe, a head in armour, with theſe words in the Latin, Runic and Ogham Croabh characters: PLATE I. No. 3.

o, h, t, r, o, ea, m o a l a ch l a

Or,

Oht Roeamoalachla, for *O Raghallaigh*, i. e. *O Re Magh Lachlagh.*

On the reverſe, a croſs, with a hand in one of the quarters, with theſe words: PLATE I. No. 3.

M a c, Gh o a v a n m o r a

Or,

Mac Ghoabhan mora, for *Magh Cavan more.*

This coin was probably ſtruck for ſome of the O Raghallaigh or O Reillies, kings of Cavan.

No. IV.

No. IV.

PLATE I. No. 4.

On the obverſe, a head with four balls behind it, with the following legend in Runic and Ogham Croabh characters :

m e a l a n a c m a g l a o g o i g

Or,

Mealanac mag laogoig, for *Moilana magh Laoghoigh.*

On the reverſe are two hands in oppoſite quarters of the croſs, but the inſcription being in ſome places effaced, cannot be tranſlated. The coin appears to have been ſtruck for one of the chiefs of Moileana or Magh Leana, in the King's County, whoſe family in the latter ages was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Malone.

No. V.

PLATE I. No. 4.

On the face, a head, round which is the following legend in Runic and Ogham Croabh characters :

A t h o i h M a h l a g h a o i l n

Or,

Athoih mah Laghaoiln, for *O Maghlochlin.*

As the reverſe of this coin is not legible, it is not certain to what chief it relates, as ſeveral families bore that name in the counties of Clare, Meath and Carlow.

No. VI.

No. VI.

ROUND the head, on the obverſe, part of the characters are defaced; thoſe that remain are, PLATE I.

m a g h c a n n e l l No. 6.

Or,

Magh Cannell, for *Mc. Connell.*

ON the reverſe, in one of the quarters of the croſs, is a hand, with the following inſcription in Runic and Ogham Croabh characters: PLATE I.

U u gh f ea a g h a No. 6.

Or,

U ugh Feaagha, for *U Fiacca.*

IT is probable this coin was ſtruck for ſome of the chiefs of *U Fiacca*, or *Hy Feacre*, in the county of Galway, and princes of the ancient diſtrict of *Connachtne Cinnel Dubhain.*

No. VII.

ROUND the head, on the obverſe, is the following inſcription in Latin, Runic and Ogham Croabh characters: PLATE I.

u m e a r c r e a d o n No. 7.

Or,

U mearc re a don, for *O More Re I dun.*

On the reverſe, in one of the quarters of the croſs, is a hand, with the following inſcription in Latin, Runic and Ogham Croabh characters:

PLATE I. No. 7.

m a c gh e a l a ch o f u t l a

Or,

Mac Ghealach O Futla, for *Magh Ghealach O Fodhla.*

I SUSPECT that this coin belonged to ſome of the Conor Fallia family; for by ſome genealogies I find that a perſon of the name of *Ceallach Fodhla*, or *Ceallach Feidhla*, of this family, lived about the year 900. If this ſhould be the perſon, the dates of theſe coins are aſcertained.

No. VIII.

On the obverſe, round the head, is the following inſcription in Runic and Ogham characters:

PLATE I. No. 8.

h e o gh a ll o gh o l a d

Or,

Heo Ghallo Gholad, for *O Giolla Ghaladh.*

On the reverſe, in one of the quarters, a hand, with the following inſcription:

PLATE I. No. 8.

a o n gh a l l a gh f o n

Or,

Aon Ghallagh fon, for *Angalla fion.*

THIS

This coin ſeems to have belonged to one of the chiefs of Angalla; but I am not certain whether the character reſembling a Latin *L*, and an Ogham *ch*, belong to the former or latter, though an *L* can only make ſenſe of the line.

No. IX.

On the obverſe, a head with the hand oppoſite, the thumb reſting on the tip of the noſe, with the following inſcription in Runic and Ogham characters: PLATE I. No. 9.

bl o ghodf i n lah

Or,

Blogh od Finlah, for *Balogh aodha Fionnliath.*

On the reverſe, two hands in the oppoſite quarter of the croſs, and two ſmall balls in the others, with the following inſcription: PLATE I. No. 9.

gh o nn aeghs l u n

Or,

Ghonnaeghſlun, for *Ghoneaſglun.*

If the Oghams on this coin are truly defined, it evidently belonged to *Aodha Fionnliath*, or *Hugh Fionnliath*, ſon of Niall Caille, and monarch of Ireland, who commenced his reign about the year 862[m], and died in the year 870 at *Druim Ghonaſglan*, or

[m] Warai Antiquitates, cap. 24. pag. 129.

Druim Jonaſglan, the place of his reſidence. Thus we have probably obtained the period in which all theſe coins were ſtruck, that is, between the years 862 and 870, for they are all evidently not only the work of one age, but of the ſame perſon, and may have been coined by *Ennius Rubher* at *Argiedroſs*, if we ſuppoſe the period mentioned for that tranſaction to be by Keating and other Iriſh hiſtorians thrown too far back, as anachroniſms are but too frequent in remote matters. *Ennius Rubher* or *Aongus Ruffer* is evidently a Daniſh name; and Fionnliath being for ſome time in friendſhip with the Danes, might have obtained an artificer to inſtruct his people in the art of coinage. But be this as it may, the inſcriptions, from their orthography, were evidently compoſed by ſome foreigner, and the Runic letters found in them are of the middle alphabets, that is, thoſe found on the Teutonic monuments of the ninth and tenth centuries, ſuch as thoſe in the Iſle of Man, &c.

No. X.

On the obverſe, round the head, is the following inſcription in Runic and Ogham characters:

PLATE I. No 10.

m e a l o c l o o i n c a o l m o a g h

Or,

Mealocloin Caolmoagh, for *Melochlin Caëlmen.*

On the reverſe, two hands in the oppoſite quarters of the croſs, with the following words:

PLATE I. No. 10.

a l o l r e a g h l l a l a l a e

Or,

Or,

Alol reagh Llalalae, for *Oliol re Llalalae.*

Viz.

Melochlin of Caëlmen, the chief king of Llalalae,

this coin moſt probably belonging to ſome of the Mc. Laughlins, chiefs of Caëlmen in Meath.

No. XI.

On the obverſe, a head, with the repreſentation of a hand behind, accompanied with the following inſcription in Runic and Ogham characters: PLATE I. No. 11.

o dh d o n o gh mea r

Or,

Odh Donogh mear, for *O Donogh more.*

On the reverſe, two hands in the oppoſite quarter, with the following inſcription: PLATE I. No. 11.

a o d oe m a gh a l o n

Or,

Aodoe magh Alon, for *Aodha mac Allain.*

This moſt probably was a branch of the O Connor Failie family, and chieftains of Hy Allain, in the counties of Kildare and King's County.

No. XII.

No. XII.

On the obverſe, round the head, is the following inſcription in Latin, Runic and Ogham characters:

PLATE I. No. 12.

o n a t a f m o a g h m o e o

Or,

Ona Taf Moaghmoeo, for *Eana dubh Maghmoe.*

On the reverſe, two hands in oppoſite quarters, with the following inſcription:

PLATE I. No. 12.

d a o n l o a g h n i e a

Or,

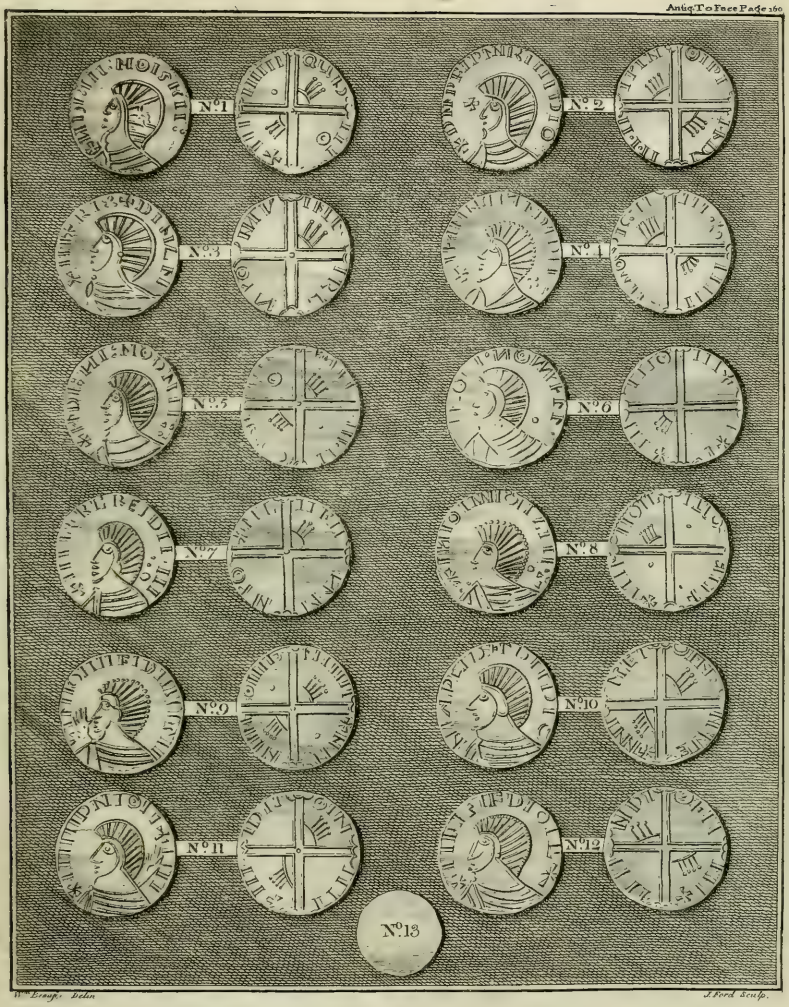
Daon Loaghniea, for *Doin Loch nea.*

Whence the entire inſcription is,

Eana dubh Maghmoedhoin Loch nea,

this coin belonging to ſome of the Mc. Mahons, chiefs of a diſtrict near Loch Neagh.

Though all poſſible care has been taken in decyphering theſe coins, yet I am not certain of having always diſcovered the true name, as the power of the Ogham Croabh characters can only be found by making them accord in ſenſe with the Latin and Runic characters; and where the entire inſcription conſiſts of Croabh letters, there is no certainty of their ſignification. Several characters alſo have different powers in different alphabets, which renders it difficult to find from what alphabet they were taken, and conſequently their local powers; the only method that can be followed



W.m Basire Delin.

J. Ford Sculp.

followed is to fix upon ſome well-known characters, and then to determine the variable by ſome of their powers, as ſhall agree in ſenſe with the others. Care muſt likewiſe be had to the imperfection of ſeveral of the letters; for as theſe coins were evidently ſtruck by the hand, ſome of the impreſſions have not taken, and were afterwards mended, which make them ſeem at firſt ſight different characters from what they were intended. From theſe conſiderations, I could wiſh, on a future day, ſome of the Royal Iriſh Academicians would turn their thoughts towards an explanation of thoſe ancient remains, either by the method I have taken or any other; as by that means the dark periods of paſt ages may be fully illuſtrated, which the endeavours of a ſingle perſon would be unable to effect.

To conduce as much as poſſible in my power to ſo deſirable an end, I ſend herewith a table of the ſeveral alphabets which I made uſe of in the above explanation.

EXPLICATION of the ALPHABETS in the TABLE.

No. 1. Iriſh Ogham Croabh characters *, found on coins, ſtone-croſſes and other monuments from the ninth to the ſeventeenth century. I ſuſpect that this alphabet originally contained only four lines; as on ſome of the coins, and the oldeſt inſcriptions I have ſeen, four anſwer much better than five. PLATE II.

* Theſe characters ſeem to have been derived from No. 4.

No. 2.

No. 2. Iriſh Oghams and contractions found in manuſcripts and inſcriptions.

No. 3. An Iriſh Ogham, from the book of Ballymote. I have as yet found no inſcription in theſe characters.

No. 4. The Iriſh Ogham Croabh, as given by Harris, in his edition of Ware's works.

PLATE II. No. 5. Gothic and Runic letters from Wormius, and Magnus Celſus on his explanation of the Runic inſcriptions at Helſingland in Sweden, which characters are in the greater part derived from the Latin from the third to the tenth centuries.

No. 6. The Latin letters of the middle ages, that is, from the firſt to the eleventh century, taken from Bernard's Tables, and a number of ancient inſcriptions diſcovered in Britain; which characters are evidently derived from the Coptic, Greek and Etruſcan, and uſed indiſcriminately by the Chriſtian clergy during the above periods.

THESE alphabets will, I believe, with care, decypher the oldeſt inſcriptions found in Great Britain and Ireland, compound letters and contractions excepted.

I am, Sir,

Your's, &c.

W. BEAUFORD.

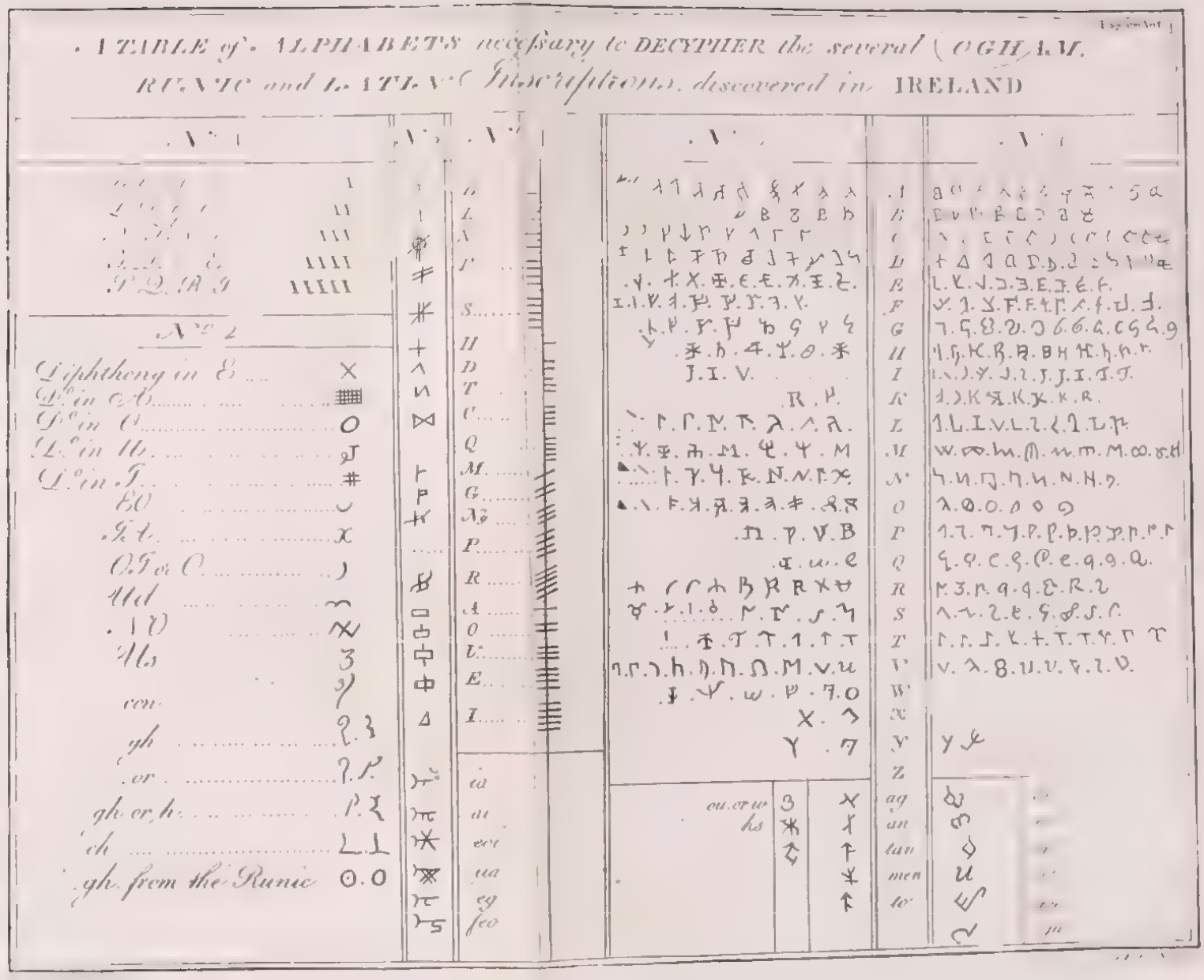
To Joſeph C. Walker, Eſq;
Treaſury Chambers, Dublin.

A TABLE of ALPHABETS rec
RUNIC and LATIN In

N.º 1		N.º 3	N.º
B. H. M. A.	I	+	B.
L. D. Y. O.	II	ᛉ	L.
N. T. Ng. U.	III	ᛜ	N.
X. P. C. S.	IIII	ᚠ	F.
S. Q. R. I.	IIIII	ᛋ	S.
N.º 2		ᚺ	H.
Diphthong in E	ᛝ	ᛞ	D.
D.º in S.	ᛠ	ᛏ	T.
D.º in O.	ᛟ	ᚳ	C.
L.º in U.	ᛇ	ᚲ	Q.
L.º in I.	ᛈ	ᛗ	M.
EO	ᛎ	ᚷ	G.
Ie	ᛪ	ᚹ	N.º
OI or C	ᛃ	ᛒ	P.
Ud	ᛦ	ᚱ	R.
NO	ᛣ	ᚩ	A.
Ds	ᛤ	ᚢ	O.
con	ᛥ	ᚣ	U.
gh	ᛧ	ᛖ	E.
or	ᛨ	ᛁ	I.
gh or he	ᛩ	ᛡ	ia.
ch	ᛪ	ᛠ	ai
gh from the Runic	᛫	ᛢ	eor
		ᛣ	ua.
		ᛤ	eg
		ᛥ	eo

Wm Beauford Del.t

A TABLE of ALPHABETS necessary to DECYPHER the several OGHAM, RUNIC and LATIN Inscriptions, discovered in IRELAND


No 1
No 2
Diphthong in E
D.° in A
D.° in O
L.° in U
L.° in I
EO
Ea
OI or OE
Ud
Ui
Ils
con
gh
or
gh or h
ch
gh from the Runic
ia
ui
eae
ua
eg
feo
ea
ae
ao
oi
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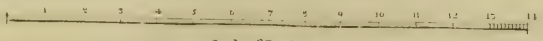

Scale of Inches.

Account of an ANCIENT URN *found in the Parish of* KILRANELAGH, *in the County of* WICKLOW. *From a Letter written by* THOMAS GREEN, *Esq. Communicated by the Rev.* WILLIAM HAMILTON, *F. T. C. D. Sec. Com. Antiq.*

IN the year 1785 Mr. Green had occasion to open a piece of ground near his house of Greenville, in the county of Wicklow. At the depth of six feet beneath the surface, the workmen discovered a small enclosure of eight flags; six of these formed its sides, and two closed in the top and bottom. Within this was placed an earthen vase, containing a considerable quantity of ashes and calcined human bones, which was presented to the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin, by Mr. Green.

THE capacity of this urn is equal to sixteen quarts, and the form of it somewhat resembles the segment of an inverted cone. The diameter of its base is very small in proportion to its height, and breadth above, as appears by the drawing and annexed scale.

Its only ornaments conſiſt in a number of indented jagged lines round its rim, and a rude zig-zag frette on the outſide ſurface.

It has been tolerably well burnt in the fire, in conſequence of which the clay has aſſumed a reddiſh colour.

As the diameter of its rim is not every where preciſely equal, nor the edge accurately ſituated in one and the ſame plane throughout, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that it has been moulded by the hands of the artiſt, and not regularly turned on a potter's wheel.

A general tradition prevails, though without any preciſe authority for it, that the ground wherein this urn was found had formerly been a place of interment.

End of the Transactions for the Year 1787.

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*Thus marked * were original members. Thus marked † ſince dead.*

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